

Publications of the Society for the
Advancement of Scandinavian Study

Scandinavian Studies and Notes

Editor

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VOLUME XII, ~~NOVEMBER~~
¹⁹³³
NOVEMBER, 1933

Published four times a year

By the Society with the financial support of the American Scandinavian Foundation

Price of this number \$0.75

Menasha, Wis.

R830.6 L6 V.12 c.1

LL^R

VOLUME XII

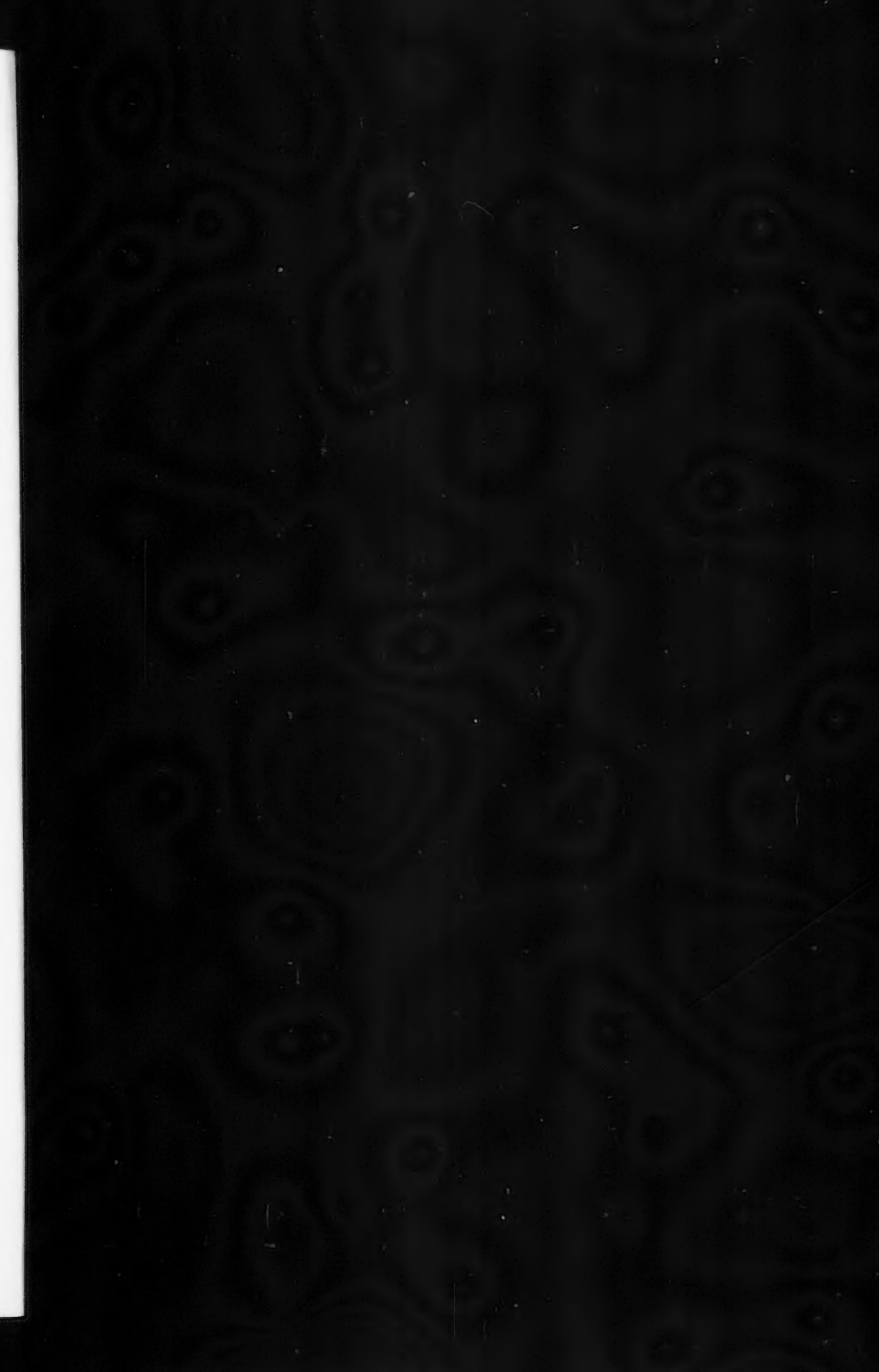
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THE SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY OF MARTIN ANDERSON NEXÖ

As early as 1906 the author of *Pelle the Conqueror and Ditte: Daughter of Man* struck a new note in fiction, the note envisioning the proletariat as the carrier of future development. At that time the proletariat "had turned the King's Copenhagen into the people's Copenhagen."¹ And Nexö defines the proletariat as a "fixed entity, sprung from the loins of the bourgeoisie"² who took their high place following the French Revolution.

Nexö maintains that "no social class or rank can make powerful cultural progress without possessing a culture."³ And the culture of the proletariat is solidarity. By this Nexö means that as a man among men, the proletarian fulfills his human duties to the best of his ability, staking his share for the community. And although he owns nothing but his ability to labor, his fresh content of ideas carried out through his actual participation in the struggle will make the new era, "an era of getting together and one in which human beings do not aim to knock each other but to work loyally hand in hand. Whereas, monopolies in land and machines mean a determination by the few to lower relative wages."

It seems highly requisite to an understanding of Nexö as an author to try to discover the constructive forces and powers in the proletariat that are to establish certain basic principles in the new social order. Nexö is idealistic enough in his presentation to warrant an approach from the point of view of literature. It is through his art, that Nexö goes deeper down than the social order. He goes to universality.

Mr. Johansen in the *Sewanee Review* explains why *Pelle* is an epic, and he compares it with *The Illiad* and *The Odyssey*. Like Achilles and Odysseus, Pelle's "personal fortunes are intimately united with the destiny of his people," the laboring class. "Like Achilles and Odysseus, and unlike Aeneas, Pelle is a self-governing personality." And although *Boyhood* represents

¹ *Pelle Erobreren*, Vol. 1, Foreword (1906-1910).

² Martin Anderson Nexö, *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, Dec. 9, 1928, p. 7.

³ *Ibid.*

the centralizing tendency in competitive agriculture, *Apprenticeship* the antecedent chaos of the factory system, *The Great Struggle* the successful organization, and *Daybreak* the prospective triumph of co-operation, one is wholly unaware of any labor doctrines while reading.⁴ Pelle is too human and Nexö is a literary artist.

In all of Nexö's work one is able to discern the effects of his own congenital poverty in which he gradually acquired his reverent respect for honest toil and living ideals; for he came in contact with strong and magnetic personalities whose forces and elements of character were worthy of becoming the constructive forces in a new social order. He has won fame telling their story. And like Pelle, Nexö is "one who is too loyal to turn his back on those among whom he has been happy."⁵

Martin Anderson Nexö was born into poverty June 26, 1869, in one of Copenhagen's oldest and poorest working quarters. His father was a stone mason, but he had come from a line of farmers in Bornholm. His mother was the daughter of a smith. She went about town with a little wagon, selling fish and pot-herbs to aid in the livelihood of the family. Martin was the fourth child, and as soon as he could walk alone, he sold papers, gathered shingles to sell, and watched the younger children. "All the poor man's joys and sorrows have sounded in myself from the time I could crawl . . . in my mind, in my stomach, and on my back."⁶

After he was twenty years of age, Nexö had the opportunity of going to high school for three winters. He was then able to start teaching and writing, supremely happy among children and books. On July 10, 1893, *Fyns Tidende* published his first literary achievement, a picture of a Bornholm guild feast. At the same time, he also wrote a poem, *For de Faldne*, concerning some drowned fisherman, in which he pictured the dangers of their livelihood. But the strain of writing after a day's teaching was too great for Nexö. He contracted pneumonia and was forced to give up his position. Madam Molbach, his benefactress,

⁴ Johansen, *Sewanee Review*, Vol. XXVII, p. 221.

⁵ *Pelle: The Great Struggle*, p. 91.

⁶ *Pelle Erobreren*, Vol. 1, Foreword.

came to the rescue with four hundred kroner and sent him on a trip through Southern Europe to regain his health. While fighting death in 1894, he wrote *Min Svanesang*.

Nexö returned to Denmark in the summer of 1896, determined to fight for the poor. He had not then decided upon a social scheme for their salvation. Neither did he pretend to literary aspirations. Against his will, his work now belongs to the *belles lettres* of Denmark. He has always maintained that he knows more of life than he does of writing. Words are not enough. He wants "stuff" and "bread," and his definition of bread is one that makes Luther's "pale into insignificance." It includes "everything, from the very dust to the highest heavens—for everybody. The only promise not contained in it is that of becoming a millionaire."⁷

This contact with sterling qualities led to Nexö's clear comprehension of their ineffectiveness in a capitalistic state. It impelled him to fight for a reorganization of society. In doing it, he first attacked Christianity. He observed that taking one's trouble to God made an individual submissive and easily controlled. Therefore, religion was a tool of the capitalistic state instead of a living, constructive philosophy.

He likewise disparages education. Rather than as the instrument which he believes should "afford one opportunity to square himself with Eternity and Infinity" he sees it thus:

"One could never be sure of what those above one told one and yet all teaching came from them. No, the people ought to have had their own schools, where the children would learn the new ideas instead of religion and patriotism. Then there would long ago have been an end to the curse of poverty."⁸

And he scorns patriotism in similar terms.

"People used to go about saying that the Germans were the hereditary enemy, and that the Fatherland was taking the lead of all other countries. But now the employers were sending to Germany for troops of hirelings, and were employing them to drive their own countrymen into a state of poverty. All that

⁷ Martin Anderson Nexö, *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, *op. cit.*

⁸ *Pelle: Daybreak*, p. 140.

talk of patriotic feeling had been only fine words. There were only two nations—the oppressors and the oppressed.”⁹

The writer asked Nexö, “Is there any definite check on the wealthy class in your philosophy?” He answered, “When we proletarians reign there will no longer be wealthy and poor classes—and no bourgeoisie!”

Nexö has always taken an active part in social and political reforms. He belonged at first to the Danish party of Social Democrats, an organization that was victorious in the general election of April 11, 1924, and was supported by the trade unions. But Nexö did not remain a Social Democrat. He thought this party lost its salt and joined the Communist movement. He is now a member of *Samara Sovjet*.

Nexö himself is clearly identified with two of his characters besides Pelle. They are both called Morten, and they are both writers for the working man. The Morten in *Pelle: Daybreak* goes to Spain and Southern Italy overjoyed to see “for once poor people who aren’t cold!” In *Ditte: Toward the Stars*, Nexö pictures himself more accurately.

“You are Morten,” she whispered with difficulty. “I know you. I have never had time to read anything of yours; but you have made many men happy. They say you write so beautifully of us. And do you believe yourself in all you attribute to us?”¹⁰

In his most recent article he says, “We do not perceive ourselves as raw material for some intellectual prodigies or monsters. We are hearts and souls, and the heart and soul are to us the most precious thing about man—not the brain.”¹¹

Yet intelligence gives Pelle an armor for life which Father Lasse and Ditte do not have. It is only after Pelle has learned to read that he becomes fully aware of society as a class struggle. He gains his perspective through Darwin’s *Origin of Species* when he sees that his idea of union, which he has arrived at blindly, is a law of nature itself. He sees the tide of co-operation is evolution. And “his system of profit-sharing must be the starting-point for a war between Labour and Capital.”¹²

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ditte: Toward the Stars*, p. 258.

¹¹ *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, *op. cit.*

¹² *Pelle: Daybreak*, p. 134.

Nexö's doctrine that man is innately good and that poverty is the root of all evil is, of course, open to question. Time after time he traces the bad in his characters back to something definite, and that something is always colored by poverty. All his women characters turn prostitutes, for in dire necessity that is their only way of securing food, usually for the family. There is Hanne and Marie and the girl in the "Ark" who dared not summon the father of her child before the magistrate for fear of being dismissed from her place. Ferdinand becomes a professional thief, hunted all his life, because he has had to steal when a youth. Then there is Karl, one of the three children in the "Ark." He, so innately sweet and lovable, loses a hand in the unprotected machinery. As a result of his consequent failure to aid in the support of the three, he becomes sullen and desperately despondent. Every failure is a tragedy, because Nexö shows us that every one would have been good if poverty had not made him corrupt.

"He was not fond of using great words but at the bottom of his heart he was convinced that everything bad originated in want and need."¹³

As for Western culture he denounces it by saying, "I have nothing to contribute to West European culture. I was born a revolutionary proletarian." He commits himself farther:

"It redounds to the shame of the older culture that it can state the weight of sun, moon, and stars with precision down to the pound, but can not weight out bread to mouths that are hungry."¹⁴

Yet there is hope in his tragic spectacle of life. In the last volume of *Ditte* the proletarian, who had suffered and fought through the many terrible years, comes to Ditte's deathbed and speaks to her:

"There is no one who can conduct the law suit out there like you and tell the soul how good we are and how undeservedly we suffer, and that we are dumb. It is for you we have been looking, God, our Father, and I."¹⁵

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Martin Anderson Nexö, *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, *op. cit.*

¹⁵ *Ditte: Towards the Stars*, p. 268.

In Russia, Nexö received his stimulating world perspective. He calls it "the wide perspective."¹⁶ He was a personal friend of Lenin's and after several personal invitations from him, Nexö went to the "Proletarian's Fatherland" for four months in 1923 to observe conditions there. *Toward Dawn* is the enthusiastic account of his impressions of the place where he learned the true significance of the Orient as well as saw his principles in practice, for it is evident that Nexö's principles are in harmony with the principles of Marx's although Nexö declares in a letter to the writer that the only work of Marx's he has read is *The Communist Manifesto*.

In his book Nexö writes, "England has a right to be nervous about Soviet Russia. The Jews and the East are experiencing a renaissance in Russia. When they do, England will no longer remain the economic ruler in the East." He also quotes Hoover's advice to Russia, given when he was administering Russian relief:

"Russia's reconstruction (through the aid of foreign capital) will be possible only when Russia will give quittance to her big industry and go entirely over to agriculture."¹⁷

Nexö explains this opposition as the result of America's fear of Russia's promising industrial competition with the whole world. He credits America, "swimming in capital"¹⁸ with having no higher motives for refusing Russia a loan than had England.

"Is a revolution bloodier than a war?" Nexö asks. He cites Carlyle's statement that the biggest revolutions have taken fewer lives than the smallest wars. He further cites Arthur Ransome in the *Manchester Guardian* who writes that the toll of the Soviet rising was ten thousand lives, but that four thousand of them were robbers and murderers. And also Albert Rhys Williams in his book *Through the Russian Revolution* writes that, the four months it took the Soviet to secure power cost only one tenth the number of lives that the Civil War cost in America."¹⁹

Yet, Nexö does not justify revolutionary conspiracies. He

¹⁶ *Mod Dagningen*, p. 182.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

shows their futility and he propagandizes for a peaceful world revolution all the way through. Peter Dryer's attempt to spur a brigade of threatening unemployed to violent action ended only in his death. It was Pelle who saved the situation by turning the sullen crowd back to the peaceful movement. He revived hope in the discouraged group and showed them the folly of violent methods. Morten in *Pelle* concentrates only upon theories of anarchism and syndicalism. His impatience is as ineffective as in Peter Dryer's.

Nexö notes all the fundamental principles underlying the Soviet economic organization in his idealistic way. They are means to the realization in his dream of beauty and are justified in so far as they have contributed to this spiritual awakening in the masses. The socialization of productive forces has resulted in better housing that has meant comfortable quarters and richer living. The electrification has meant lighter work as well as destruction of monopoly. He cannot ignore the economic situation, for as Dewey puts it:

"The secret lay in the fact that they could give to the economic and industrial phase of social life the central place it actually occupies in present life."²⁰

The aims of her educational system are especially admirable. They are its chief merit. The whole foundation of the school rests upon the idea. "The school must be freed from the State's chains." Discipline is clarified in the one sentence: "See to it that the child is interested. Then attention will take care of itself." The cultural aim is to "show each child his place in the large association and to unfold his innate skill and talent."

But the Russian Revolution means more than an overthrow of an old economic system to Nexö. It is the breaking through to youth for the whole human race, an Utopia beckoning from the wilderness to "a life that is tiresome and dull and far too well known." Then only does Nexö believe, can the conflict about human interests begin.

"The Red Flag is the dawn rays. Some day the proletariat will see that and understand that that color is also the color of their own heart-blood. Some day the proletarians will swing Russia's

²⁰ John Dewey, *Impressions of Soviet Russia*, p. 85.

red flag around the world, and then the Proletariat's Fatherland will include all mankind."²¹

CHRONOLOGY OF THE WORKS OF MARTIN ANDERSEN NEXÖ

- 1898 *Skygger*
- 1899 *Det Bodes der for*
- 1900 *En Moder*
- 1900 *Mulds kud*
- 1901 *Familien Franck*
- 1902 *Dryss*
- 1903 *Soldage*
- 1906-1910 *Pelle Erobreren*
 - I. *Barndom*
 - II. *Læreaar*
 - III. *Den Store Kamp*
 - IV. *Gryet*
- 1908 *Af Dybet's Lovsang*
- 1911 *Barndommens Kyst*
- 1913 *Bornholmer-Noveller*
- 1903 *Lykken*
- 1915 *Folkene paa Dangaarden (Drama i tre akter)*
- 1917-1922 *Ditte Menneskebarn*
 - I. *Barndolm*
 - II. *Lillemor*
 - III. *Syndefaldet*
 - IV. *Skaensilden*
 - V. *Mod Stjernerne*
- 1921 *De Tomme Pladsers Passagerer*
- 1923 *Mod Dagningen*

APPENDIX

The following questions asked by the writer were answered by Martin Andersen Nexö as follows:

Who are your favorite authors?

"Tolstoy, Cervantes."

²¹ *Mod Dagningen*, p. 99.

Have you had any direct contact with the great sociological movement as evidenced by several writers, notably Ibsen, Galsworthy, Nietzsche?

"No."

Which of the German philosophers have interested you?

"I do not read philosophers, since I cannot decipher those who do say something."

Has Nietzsche had any influence upon you?

"No."

Has Hegel had any influence upon you?

"No."

Is there, or was there, a "Nexö Circle" in Denmark? If so, who were or are some of its personnel?

"No, but the Danish workers think much of me, and that means more to me."

Have the biological discoveries of Darwin and Huxley been the foundation for your philosophy?

"No. But we are, of course, all under obligation to the point of view of evolution."

Have Ruskin's theories which concern education for the masses a definite place in your philosophy?

"I have not read Ruskin's books."

Have Karl Marx's theories a place in your philosophy?

"Of Karl Marx I know only *The Communist Manifesto*."

Is there any definite check upon the wealthy in your philosophy?

"When we proletarians reign there will be found no poor, and neither any wealthy classes."

Is there any hope for the bourgeoisie in your philosophy?

"And neither Bourgeoisie!"

CLARA MADSEN

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OLD NORSE PHONOLOGICAL NOTES

I. *Má:megum*

The form *megum* is of secondary ON origin in place of an original **mogum* < **magum* = Goth. *magum*.

According to the current view¹ the *-e-* in *megum* was borrowed from the subjunctive stem *meg(-a, -ir, i, etc.)*. But no explanation has been offered as to why of the preterit presents this verb alone should have borrowed the subjunctive vowel in the indicative present plural.

Heusler,² on the other hand, explains the *-e-* in *megum* as due to analogy with *vegum:vá*. But this analogical proportion *má:vá::vegum:megum* does not seem convincing; *vá* has a preterit sense, *vegum* a present sense, while *má:megum* both are present in sense. If the analogy had its starting point in *má:vá* we should rather have expected *má:vá::vógum:*mógum*, all preterit forms.

The reason for the loss of original **magum* is clear. The stem vowel *a:a* (Goth. *mag:magum*) is irregular and we see that in the WGerm. languages this irregularity gave way to analogy in favor of an established pattern, viz. *mag:mugum* after the pattern of *skal:skulum* (cf. also *þarf:þurðum*, *kann:kunnum*, *daug:dugum*); OHG *mag:magun* (*mugun*), OS *mag:mugun*, OFris. *mag:mugun*. Corresponding to WGerm. *mugun* we have ONorw. *muga:moga* inf. alongside earlier *maga*.

The reason why OIcel. did not substitute the form **mugum* for original **magum* (as did the WGerm.) was obviously due to the fact that in OIcel. the form *má* (< **mah* < **mag*) with radical vowel *á* did not offer a starting point, as did WGerm. *mag*, for the analogy with *skal:skulum*, etc.

Now it will be noted that in the subjunctive present of the preterit presents the unumlauted vowel may be substituted for the umlauted vowel in conformity with the regular (= original) present subjunctive (which did not suffer umlaut). We have, accordingly, *kunna*, *unna*, *þurfa*, *muna*, *skula*, pres. subj.

If we add those cases where the radical vowel was not cap-

¹ Cf. Noreen, *Aisl. Gram.*,⁴ §525, Anm. 1; Dieter, *Laut- und Formenlehre der altgerm. Dialekte*, §252, 8, Anm.

² Cf. Heusler, *Aisl. Elementarb.*,² §331.

able of umlaut (*vita, eiga*), we see that all the preterit presents may have the same radical vowel in the present subjunctive as in the present indicative plural (cf. *vita: vitum, eiga: eigum, kunna: kunnun, þurfa: þurfun*, etc.).

Now since *mā: *mogum* (< **magum*) constituted an irregular ablaut relation, this irregularity gave way to the regularly established pattern that the radical vowel of the indicative plural should be identical with that of the subjunctive; hence *mega* subj.: *megum* ind. plur. (in place of **mogum*).

After the form *megum* had become established, the subjunctive form *mega* did not follow the example of the other preterit presents and substitute an unumlauted form (**maga*), because the radical vowel of the subjunctive and of the indicative plural was already identical.

The form *megum* was in conformity with the fifth ablaut series (cf. *vegum*) and therefore could all the more easily be felt as a present tense (cf. *mega: vega* subj. pres.: *megum: vegum* ind. plur. pres., *mega: vega* pres. inf.).

An exact parallel to ON *mega* subj.: *megum* ind. plur., *mega* inf. is offered³ by the MHG preterit presents *müge: mügen, dürfe: dürfen* (OHG *mugi: mugun, durfi: durfun*) > NHG *möge: mögen, dürfe: dürfen*, etc. where the subjunctive vowel has been transferred to the indicative plural (and consequently to the infinitive) in accordance with the tendency for the present subjunctive and the present indicative plural to contain the same radical vowel (cf. MHG *nēme: nēmen, wërfe: wërffen, slage: slagen*, etc.).

II. *Blíkja, svíkja, víkja*

Only these three verbs of the first ablaut series have a *j*-suffix in the present tense. According to the current view⁴ this *j*-suffix is primary and represents the sign of the present tense as in *biðja, liggja*, etc. This hypothesis is unsatisfactory because it leaves unexplained why this *j*-present suffix should occur only in these verbs of the first ablaut series in ON and not else-

³ Cf. also OFris. *skilun: skelen* for *skulun* with the radical vowel of the subjunctive.

⁴ Cf. Heusler, *op. cit.*, §306, 3; Iversen, *Norræn Gram.*, §119, 1; Dieter, *op. cit.*, §236; Osthoff, *Beitr.*, 8, 296.

where in the first ablaut series either in ON or in any of the other Germ. dialects.

In view of this fact it is a priori more likely that the *j*-suffix in question is of specific ON origin. Noreen⁵ explains the *j*-suffix as due to the palatalization of the velar *k* through the preceding palatal vowel *i*. Noreen includes in this type of palatalization also the velars *g* and *γ* (i.e., *engiom*, *lægiom* from *engi:lægi*). But in the case of *engiom:lægiom* (*ja*-stems) the *j* was most likely preserved⁶ after *g:γ* and not parasitically developed. Of Noreen's examples for the palatalization of *γ(g)* only *gfgja* (<MHG *gige*) is valid.

Now we note that in the first ablaut series none of the verbs whose stem ends in *g(=γ)* has the *j*-suffix (cf. *hntga*, *mfga*, *stga*, *sttga*, etc.). It is a question, therefore, why this *g* was not palatalized—if Noreen's theory is correct—exactly like the *k* with the resultant glide *j*.

I think that Noreen is right in assuming that the velars *k* and *g:γ* were palatalized through the preceding palatal vowel with resultant glide *j* before the guttural vowel but the glide did not appear after *g* in *hntga*, *mfga*, etc. because the *g* here represents the spirant *γ* which was on its way to become the glide *j* (cf. *teygja* > *teyja*); hence there was no orthographical need for writing *j* after *g*, i.e., **hntgja*, **mfgja*. In the loan word *gfgja* (<MHG *gige*) the *gj* probably differed in pronunciation in no wise or at least very little from the spirant *γ* in *hntga*, *mfga*, etc. at the time when the word was borrowed.

The velar *k*, on the other hand, represented a stop and therefore when palatalized by the preceding vowel *i* regularly retained the following glide *j*, which was merged with the spirant *γ* in pronunciation; hence *vikja*, etc. but *hntga*, etc.

After the palatal glide *j* had developed in *bltkja:svtkja:vtkja* it became felt as a suffix and therefore became interchangeable⁷ with the *v*-suffix after the pattern of such strong verbs as *þryngja:þryngva*, *tyggja:tyggva*, etc. According to the pattern of

⁵ Cf. Noreen, *op. cit.*, §263.

⁶ Cf. Heusler, *op. cit.*, §§141, 206.

⁷ Cf. My article "Notes on the Substitution of the *j*-Suffix for the *v*-Suffix in the old Norse Verb," *Scan. Studies and Notes*, 10, 26-30.

these verbs the *v*-suffix was carried over into the 'preterit and past part., hence *sveik:sveyk* (<**sveikw*), *svik(v)inn*; *veik:veyk* (<**veikw*), *vikinn:ykvinn*.

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PAULDING'S KONINGSMARKE, THE LONG FINNE

A STORY OF NEW SWEDEN

Satire and caricature have their place in literary art. They are delicate forms which when well done are highly entertaining, forceful, and valuable. But sometimes they are carried beyond the limits of justice and good taste. Oftentimes this is plainly intentional, and at other times the author's innermost ideas and intentions are in doubt. It may be merely a frantic effort to be funny, with no heartfelt hostility to anybody, or it may, again, be a case of sheer gross ignorance. But whenever the representative of a large, strong party or country attacks a smaller and a weaker one by these methods, it would seem as though it were dangerously close to a form of literary cowardice. Certainly the representative of the weaker part may in such an instance be excused for not fully appreciating the "humor" which is made or squeezed out at his own expense. Was it any wonder if the descendants of the Amsterdam Dutch and the Delaware Swedes felt in 1809 a bit piqued and resentful over the treatment of their ancestors by Washington Irving in *Knickerbocker's History of New York*? Would he, of primarily English ancestry, have satirized his own victorious race so severely? Did he in fact satirize the Yankees so cheerfully? These are some of the thoughts and queries that came to the writer's mind in starting this paper.

The humorous-satirical descriptions by Irving of the Swedish settlers on the Delaware, and particularly of their governors, soldiers, and contests with the Dutch, I have treated elsewhere.¹ We come now to another American literary work which is at least nominally localized in New Sweden and is consequently supposed to deal with the Delaware Swedes. What does the author know about these Scandinavian colonists, if anything? And if he has taken liberties, as any fiction writer has a right to do, and as Irving did abundantly, did he transgress the reasonable limits of such liberties? If the novelist himself does not pretend to follow history but knows instinctively from the character of

¹ "Scandinavians in the Works of Washington Irving," *Scandinavian Studies and Notes*, IX, 7 (August, 1927), 207-223.

the title or contents of the book that many readers of it cannot help regard it as "historical," is not his responsibility for wrong and unjust impressions created by it rather grave, and is he not guilty of serious indiscretion and bad taste? There is nothing more murderous in writing than ridicule, and it may well be, as has been suggested, that the satirization of the Swedish Delaware settlement by Irving and Paulding contributed not a little to retard subsequent scientific interest in and study of that colony.² In any event Paulding followed in Irving's footsteps, so far as the delineation of Delaware colonists was concerned, and shows direct influence both in general character and vocabulary.³ But let us examine Paulding's novel.

James Kirke Paulding (1778-1860), of English, Dutch, and Danish ancestry, poet, novelist, statesman, and secretary of the navy, published his *Koningsmarke, The Long Finne, a story of the new world*, in two volumes in 1823. It was a first novel, an experiment apparently, which the author had been "partly induced to enter upon . . . as people engage in the tobacco or grocery line, from seeing others prosper mightily in the business."⁴ It was intended as an imitation of *Tom Jones* and was "a sort of compromise between such an unaffected story as our author would have been likely to write without any disturbing influences,⁵ and a desire to quiz the romantic school introduced and upheld by the genius of Walter Scott."⁶ Bombie of the Frizzled Head, a character in *Koningsmarke*, is a parody in part of "Norna of the fitful head." The initial chapter of each "book"—the novel is divided into nine books—is after the manner of Fielding. Also, Paulding wrote to Irving on March 20, 1824: "The work

² "We are inclined to believe," says Roy W. Swanson, "that it was Washington Irving who queered the Delaware Swedes historically. . . . After Irving finished with them the world was disinclined to have them any different." See "Swedes and the New History," *Swedish-American Historical Bulletin*, III, 3 (September, 1930), p. 9.

³ Descriptive expressions like "bandy legs" and "splay feet" are with insignificant alterations copied from Irving.

⁴ William I. Paulding, *Literary Life of James K. Paulding*, New York, 1867, p. 165.

⁵ These "disturbing influences" were intermittent attacks of illness.

⁶ William I. Paulding, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

of mine you mention having read with pleasure [*Koningsmarke*], was written for no earthly purpose but to pass the leisure hours of about six weeks that I was left alone at Washington, D. C."⁷ The author claimed, too, that in the writing of his novel he had been conscious of "tilting" only at the fashionable English writers, not at any others.

It is obvious that we cannot expect too much from a work with such flippant purposes—namely to parody or imitate somebody else, or just to pass the time. On the other hand, Paulding admits some slight intent, and it is a curious and a not altogether happy impulse which prompted him to localize this fiction combination among the Swedish citizens on the Delaware. And, be it noted, many readers liked the novel and therefore received impressions from it. A second edition, "revised and corrected," appeared in 1834 or 1835, and a German translation in 1840. It was thrice republished in London. Incidentally, Paulding's *The Dutchman's Fireside* (1831) was translated into Swedish in 1833 and into Danish, 1838. But first, how did the author hit upon the general subject of *Koningsmarke*, and how did he get the name and title of his hero?

One answer to both of these questions is undoubtedly: through pure accident. Paulding, according to his son William, indulged extensively in "desultory reading" though he never "bound himself down to regular study."⁸ He was no scholar, just a superficial, speculative reader, and his novel is a jumble-result of this non-scholarly reading plus a distinct influence from *Knickerbocker's History of New York*. The latter unquestionably is where he received his first ideas about the Delaware localization. The colony was little known at the time (except through Irving's satire), the Swedes in general still less, and so what could provide a more satisfyingly "romantic" and parody-making atmosphere than the ancient Delaware environment? Besides—and here we find, I suspect, the real root of the matter—Paulding, "Filled with a grand prescience," says his son, "of the imperial progress of this country, the small importance of the great authorities of a petty colony tickled our author's fancy

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 383.

amazingly."⁹ It had once tickled Irving's fancy too, of course, but Irving was less Dutch than Paulding, so satirized both the Dutch and the Swedes, while the latter with considerable Dutch blood directed his main shafts against the Swedish colony only. In a country like America, where we are surrounded by numerous races, we seldom ridicule our own race, no matter how insignificant it may be. It depends on what "petty colony" it is.

Just where Paulding obtained the name "Koningsmarke" is difficult to say. There was, so far as we know, no such name among the Swedish or Finnish colonists on the Delaware—or anywhere else in America. But he must have come across the name *Königsmark* somewhere in his reading. It was common enough in Swedish history of the seventeenth century, and Count Hans Christopher von Königsmark (1600–1663), of old Brandenburg nobility, for example, was during the Thirty Years' War a general in the service of Gustavus Adolphus. He died in Stockholm. His son, Otto Wilhelm von K., became, also, a Swedish general. Then Paulding had possibly heard of the famous paramour of August II, The Strong, of Saxony, Countess Marie Aurora von Königsmark, liked the unusual, romantic sound of the name, and manufactured one as near to it in appearance as he could remember at the time of writing. The novelist could not have consulted any reliable historical material while working on his book; his principal sources were his own whims and imagination, and any historical reference that came in was more or less secondary and reproduced from a faulty or careless memory; the rest was pure fiction.

The scene of *Koningsmarke*, according to the opening of the first volume, is laid on the western bank of the Delaware River, around the "famous fort and town of Elsingburgh, one of the earliest settlements of the Swedes in this country," and "about the middle of the sixteenth [sic] century." The author pays no attention whatever to historical chronology, and says so in the first chapter. Conscious of his own ignorance, he felt that this was the most graceful way out of his difficulty, since it excused him from any research. To do as he pleased, he tells us, he chose

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

for his scene of action "a forgotten village"¹⁰ and for his actors "an obscure colony, whose existence is scarcely known [i.e. to Paulding especially], and the incidents of whose history are sufficiently insignificant to allow us ample liberty in giving what cast and coloring we please to their names, habits, and opinions."¹¹ This idea is certainly followed religiously. The story seems to be laid about the year 1660, and William Penn is made a contemporary both of our hero and of Gustavus Adolphus, the latter of whom died, as is well known, in 1632. In reality Penn never appeared on the scene until long after the Swedes had established and politically lost their colony on the Delaware.

Nor are there many things in the novel which are specially Swedish or Finnish. There is some loose talk of the crown of Sweden, a mention of the chancellor "Oxenstiern," a reference to a poor captive of the Indians named Claes Torneson—which name might be construed as Swedish, and the hero, Long Finne, is finally called a Swede, while the governor's dog, Grip, seems also to be Swedish. The name of the governor's daughter, Christina, the heroine of the tale, is reminiscent of Fort Christina of olden Delaware days and of the Swedish queen, Christina. A cobbler who insists upon singing Swedish ballads, eating "surkrut" and drinking hard cider, to the deep disgust of the more orthodox portion of the colony, is introduced; and a potter, Wolfgang Langfanger,¹² the only character in the whole novel whom we know definitely to be a native of Sweden, plans a canal to connect Brandywine with the Delaware, thereby unconsciously prophesying the accomplishments of later Swedish engineers in America. "Elsingburgh" recalls faintly the name of Fort Elfsborg. Of course Gustavus Adolphus is known, which is at least *something* to be thankful for. In fact, the story is localized during his reign, whereas in history the first settlement by the Swedes on the Delaware was made in 1638, as we know, during the rule of his young daughter, Christina. So we have in the book

¹⁰ This cannot apply to Paulding himself, for he had never known much about the "village" in the first place, and so could hardly have "forgotten" it.

¹¹ Edition of 1823, p. 9.

¹² Paulding evidently knew a few German names, but knew little or nothing of Swedish ones, and did not bother to look for any.

several references to "the great Gustavus," "the immortal Gustavus," and "Gustavus, Bulwark of the Protestant Religion." Whether Paulding was conscious of any satire when penning these constantly recurring laudatory epithets about Gustavus Adolphus is of course in this case impossible to say. We give him, however, the benefit of the doubt. He knew about the famous Swedish king at all events, and at most may have intended to make a little fun of the Swedish citizens' frequent references to their Protestant champion.

But, we repeat, the Swedish element is not very pronounced. The hero has some German blood in his veins, seems to have been in Finland at some time or other, but knows nothing of Sweden. He is, however, a tall, "blue-eyed Viking," well-proportioned, "with a complexion almost too fair for a man. . . . His hair was somewhat too light to suit the taste of the present day." But it was attractive to the governor's daughter of that day nevertheless. Incidentally, the few real Swedes and Finns in the book are physically handsome. Mere names of characters like Restore Gosling, Master Oldale, and Dotterel require a little imagination to make them Swedish.

The worst caricature in the novel is that of the governor, Peter Piper, a pompous "representative of Gustavus Adolphus," a good deal of a bully and something of a tyrant, though in reality a man of good heart. With screwed-up, ostentatious dignity he refers to his "Sacred Majesty, the King of Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and the Goths." It is a little difficult for the reader to establish his nationality, but he appears to be a German by parentage,¹³ a Finn by birth or adoption, and a Swede by political position and allegiance. He is a thick-set, blustering ruler, supremely conscious of his own importance, who lives in courtly fashion in a brick house and swears in German on all auspicious occasions. His favorite expressions are "Der teufel hole dich," "galgengefallener spitzbube," and "Der galgen schivenkel." He must at one time have lived in Finland, for his daughter—who

¹³ It is a curious fact that some educated German and German-American writers to this very day are prone to make the Swedish governor of Delaware, Johan Printz, a German. See, for example, A. B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, ed. of 1927, I, p. 13, note.

by the way, as we are told, was not a "tub" like some Dutch women—had seen "more polished individuals" in Finland than in New Sweden. So we may conclude that her father had probably been there too. "The Heer Piper¹⁴ governed a territory by right of discovery, grant, possession, and what not, somewhat larger than Sweden,¹⁵ and which, at the time of this writing, contained exactly (by census) nine hundred and sixty-eight souls [368 in the first edition of the novel] exclusive of Indians."¹⁶ Continuously "squinting at" his Quaker or Catholic neighbors, Piper felt that they should take off their hats to the representative of Gustavus Adolphus. The first three books of the novel deal satirically with Peter Piper's court, subjects, and ecclesiastical system. The more personal description of the governor shows influence of Irving's portrait of Governor Risingh in *A Knickerbocker's History*. William I. Paulding in the above-mentioned work on his father quotes fifteen pages of description of Heer Piper.

The plot of *Koningsmarke* is largely conventional, with a background of passionate love, gross superstition, and unexpected kindness, Indian captivities, tortures and killings, thrilling escapes and horrible recaptures, the frightening of savages by natural thunder, and the placating of them, with the rescue of white men, by Quakers. Long Finne appears in the beginning of the narrative in the Swedish colony with a "handful of Mark Newby's half-pence," a currency that was prohibited in New Sweden under penalty of confiscation. He is suspected of bribery, is charged with attempt to seduce the people away from their allegiance to Gustavus Adolphus, and is thrown into prison. But he wins the favor of the governor's daughter, and is released through the burning of the jail. A dispute with the Indians over fishing and hunting concessions ends in the destruction of the town and the capture of eight prominent colonists, including Long Finne and Christina. Some captives are killed, but the hero

¹⁴ "Piper" in addition to being an English name is also the name of a family of the Swedish nobility, but it is unlikely that Paulding knew this fact.

¹⁵ A gross exaggeration of course. Paulding did not know the size of Sweden.

¹⁶ I, ii. This number is approximately correct for the latter part of the seventeenth century. It was certainly less than a thousand at the time of the story.

and heroine are adopted by the tribe of Red Men, being befriended by Deer Eyes, a "Pocahontas type." A group of rescuers sent out by William Penn appear opportunely and pacify the savages, and the lovers are returned to Delaware. Finally a British fleet, not a Dutch one, as in history, puts an end to the Swedish rule, and carries Long Finne as a prisoner to New York. He is in danger of being sold as a slave, but the recent governor of New Sweden intercedes for his future son-in-law, who is thereupon released and the lovers are reunited and married. All ends well.

The novel is very uneven, and parts of it are childishly trite and mediocre. The cause of this unevenness is supposed to be the author's intermittent illness during the brief period of its writing. The initial chapter of each book is, as we have implied, a humorous or critical essay, and the last three books are rather slow and dull, satirizing the settlement. From a practical viewpoint the novel was, as we have seen, "mildly successful," and we rather like the hero. But it was "deficient in unity and cumulative force, and for two volumes there is too little action. The mood or tone sometimes shifts unnaturally from serious to comic and vice versa. The principal white characters, however, have vital individuality, and the Indians, though somewhat Dutchy and unskilled as fighters, are convincingly real."¹⁷ The minor characters are insignificant, but occasionally interesting.

But the novelist shows an altogether too flagrant disregard for history, even for a satirical work. There is no discrimination whatsoever. We have a glorification of William Penn and the Quakers—for the author knew something about these and had maybe some Quaker blood in his veins—but their much-vaunted type of kindness toward the natives had been practised by the Swedish settlers years before Penn made his appearance. The colonists of New Sweden were in their own day famed for their fair and conciliatory dealings with the Indians. There must of course have been some individual instances of transgressions against the Red Man, even among the Finns and Swedes, but they were relatively few certainly, far less numerous than was

¹⁷ Amos L. Herold, Ph.D., *James Kirke Paulding, Versatile American*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1926, pp. 96-97.

the case in most other colonies. Paulding is ignorant of or disregards this fact. He simply transferred the English, Dutch, and French troubles and relations with the savages to the Swedes. He applies the general conditions of the non-Swedish colonies specifically to New Sweden. He takes for granted that any white settler must have had self-incurred, fatal, and otherwise calamitous disputes and quarrels with the Indians, and the sins of his own forefathers in dealing with the natives are applied to the Delaware colonists, who were historically, we repeat, conspicuous for their understanding of and respect for the Indian rights and viewpoints. Paulding, with one or two exceptions, simply maintained a hazy, general cross-section idea of the White Man pitted against the Redskin, and painted it accordingly. His ignorance of specific facts is covered up by satire and ridicule. The novel as a whole, as we have noted, does not have to be taken too seriously, for it was but a pastime and an "experiment," and we care little whether Peter Piper swears in German or Swedish, but if *Koningsmarke* is a "story of the new world," as the author claims in the full title, he should have exercised some discrimination in his application and description of historical backgrounds. As it is, his readers, as ignorant probably as the author, unconsciously receive a false impression of a group of American colonists that was small in size, to be sure, but which had some decent inherent ideas of justice toward those natives whose lands they bought and cultivated. *Koningsmarke*, *The Long Finne*, despite the author's simulations to the contrary, is, after all, purported to be a historical product, and even a fiction writer may not therefore violate too much the paramount accepted facts of the history which he employs. He may not do entirely as he pleases and be successful. Violations of chronology are not so important perhaps, but the treatment of the Indians (which is in general not a very flattering chapter in the history of the United States) is a sensitive subject with most descendants of American colonists, and credit should be given in those rare instances where any credit is due. There were no such decimating massacres of Swedes and Finns by Indians as there were of other colonists elsewhere; and, historically, when the Dutch (and not the English, as Paulding's novel implies) captured Fort Christina

from the Swedes in 1655, Peter Stuyvesant, hearing immediately of pending trouble with the Indians, offered after only half an hour's occupation to return the fort to the Swedes upon condition that they enter with the Dutch into an offensive and defensive alliance against the natives.¹⁸ Why? Because Stuyvesant was well acquainted with the friendly relations existing between the Swedish Delaware settlers and the savages, and his own relation with them was nowhere near so good in comparison.

Paulding makes the Swedish colonists contribute to the conversion of the Indians. This is correct. Whatever good it may have done, the fact remains that as soon as they could the Swedes had Luther's Catechism translated into the Lenape dialect for the benefit of Christian instruction among the natives. That individual settlers of New Sweden occasionally sold strong drinks to the Indians, as Paulding contends, the present writer considers very likely, but this is a transaction not wholly unknown among other colonists. The Swedes and Finns were, like the others, human.

In brief, *Koningsmarke, The Long Finne*, is a hasty, capricious, experimental production by a novelist who knew his background but little, and in fact admittedly chose the subject because his knowledge of it was so indefinite. While the reader of it today will seldom be led astray by its satire or semi-historical implications, the readers of a century ago may well have taken it more seriously than it deserved, and through their absorption of erroneous details and the whimsical spirit of the book may have injured the reputation of the Swedish colonists on the Delaware and contributed to posterity's neglect of them.

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¹⁸ Cf. Amandus Johnson, *The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware*, p. 611.

REVIEW

Strindberg's Dramatic Expressionism. By Carl Enoch William Leonard Dahlström. 242 pages including bibliography and complete index. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, 1930.

The work consists of two distinct parts: Part I, Control Factors in Expressionism, and Part II, Expressionism in Strindberg's Dramas. In Part I, the author examines large volumes of critical literature with a view to establish expressionistic norms. These norms he applies in Part II to the study of Strindberg's dramas.

After having discussed in the introductory chapter the history of Expressionism and its general background, the author turns to Expressionism in Painting. The difficult task of conveying to the reader in concise form the metaphysics, methods, and aims of Expressionism as a *Weltanschauung* and art-form, the author achieves excellently by laying before the reader the gist of the views of two authorities: George Marzynski, *Die Methode des Expressionismus*, and Oskar Pfister, *Expressionism in Art, Its Psychological and Biological Basis*. It would be difficult to select two critics better qualified to argue the pros and cons of Expressionism than Marzynski and Pfister. The former, a sympathetic but independently minded critic, furnishes an abundance of material pertaining to the theory and method of Expressionism. Here the reader learns that expressionistic art is the first that has ever turned its back definitely on the objective world. The basis of this new art is neither observed nor imagined reality. For the expressionist, he tells us, the ego is the essential part of our world—the very heart of reality. The two cannot be separated, and neither of them can have a separate existence. The time-honored subject-object relation is dismissed. The ego and its world coalesce in the unity of the supersubjective individual. Hence Expressionism cannot be compared with the conventional art-forms whose point of gravity is the objective world and its relations to the subject. It must rather be viewed in a plane parallel to the planes of religion and mysticism, if one wishes to grasp its subjective nature. It is a form of art that is comparable to that kind of cognition that has been termed *Einfühlung*. This is a mere hint at Marzynski's metaphysics of expressionism.

In his discussion of method, he stresses two factors above all others: Art as optical counterpoint and the principle of distortion. By optical counterpoint we understand the artist's attempt to build up a work of art abstractly out of colors and patterns. This demands an art-form which shall not be in the least dependent on observed or imagined reality in nature. Expressionistic painters grant that music is the only complete expressionistic art, and that optical music, a term that has been applied to expressionistic painting, is subject to most serious limitations. The same applies to all expressionistic art, the chief characteristic of which is distortion. Distortion is, of course, not voluntary or arbitrary but forced upon the artist by his concept of art, his insistence on the sublimation of the subject and utter disregard of the object. What the expressionistic painter produces, or endeavors to produce, is not the observed object, but his own psychic complex.

Pfister is chiefly interested in psychoanalysis but proceeds without preconceived notions to investigate the validity of expressionistic aesthetics. In the presentation of expressionistic characteristics the two critics agree, generally speaking. In some instances, however, their fundamental views differ widely. Thus, with reference to distortion, one of the earmarks of the new art, Marzynski holds that it results necessarily from aesthetic doctrine. Pfister, on the other hand, maintains that distortion is not necessary but inevitable, and that it is due to pathological disturbance. As a psychologist, working on a somewhat modified Freudian basis, he could naturally not come to any other conclusion. The significance of Pfister's views will of course not be fully appreciated by the uninitiated. To the reader who is familiar with the new psychology, his dictum is logical and conclusive: Expressionism . . . is subjectivism of much the same order that one finds among religious ecstasies or among the patients in our institutions for the feeble-minded and the insane (p. 24).

Chapter III, Generalities on Expressionism, in the arts and in literature, affords the reader a vivid picture of Expressionism apart from "optical music," i.e. expressionistic painting, dealt with in chapter II. At its worst (Dadaism) the movement confirms the pronouncement of Pfister. Most readers will, no doubt, hurry through this exhibition of infantile antics. The ludicrous side of the display of the exponents of a defunct would-be *Weltanschauung* should not, however, be allowed to overshadow the serious aspect of the movement: the helpless, despairing soul struggling with chaotic concepts and aims which cannot be communicated to the rational world by means of current conventional language.

Chapter V, Expressionism in Drama, presents Julius Bab to the reader. Although his attitude towards Expressionism has changed from time to time, he has remained in essence what he was in the beginning: a severe, yet just and unbiassed critic of the new genre of drama.

The product of the young German dramatist is, he says, "eine Art horror vacui, ein Schwindel vor der Leere, vor diesem abstrakten Raum, worin nur die Gespenster pathetischer Ausrufezeichen umgehen. Wenn die aller neusten Ästhetiker, die hinter diesen neuesten Produzenten natürlich schon herlaufen, uns einreden wollen: diese Leere, dieses kaum lyrische, sondern mehr rhetorische Kreisen der Phantasie um die ekstatische Stimmung des vom grossen Totendrang geschwellten Ich, das sei eben das neue grosse Kunstprinzip—so ist das natürlich Unsinn." The theory, he continues, that a drama is possible and necessary wherein the entire world appears only as a reflection of the soul, I consider as objectively false in so far as it is a matter of establishing a norm. But it (the theory) is also subjectively proven here—for where is in these ghostlike, poor pieces the "entire world" which is supposed to be the image of the poet, or hero-soul? In the later Strindberg the inner (soul) drama, this gigantic lyricism became, indeed, a kind of reality, because his ego had absorbed the entire world with all its immense tension and struggles. But the boy-dramatists of young Germany have no such ego and consequently have no possibility of portraying the world (p. 41).

Chapters V-VI deal with the elements of the theory of Expressionism. They constitute together a synthetic study based on critical literature from 1919 onward. The following elements are discussed in greater or less detail: *Ausstrahlungen des Ichs* (Radiations of the ego); The Unconscious; Experience; *Welt als Einheit* (The World as Unity); *Seele und Geist* and other relevant factors such as the Parallel with Music; the Relation to Religion; and the Worth of Man.

In the résumé following the discussion of the above factors, the author points out that Expressionism is no well-defined system of thought. It is not coherent and not without contradiction nor is it free from naïveté. At best the theory can be ordered only intuitively. It cannot be framed in orderly language. But, he adds, this does not invalidate the material for our use, because in this work critical understanding has been applied to selecting from the writers on Expressionism, not to justify or repudiate what they set forth. Then the author indicates certain elements on which he can fasten his study, viz., *Ausstrahlungen des Ichs* with stress on the subject and the concept of cosmos in constant play in the ego; the roles of *Seele* and *Geist*; inner experience, the Unconscious, etc. But we are warned that no single one of these factors is sufficient to warrant the classification "Expressionistic." The factors must rather be considered *in sum* as an interpretation of the theory.

In chapter VI, Factors in Dramatic Practice, the author endeavors to group the elements under the same headings as in chapter V. But this is not always feasible because of the confusion in expressionistic practice. He also calls attention to the fact that expressionistic practice was not wholly an outgrowth of the theory. For theorizing was mostly done by a certain circle only after the production of outstanding expressionistic literary works. Last but not least we must bear in mind that Strindberg's dramas antedated the expressionistic movement by several years and that between 1913-1914 a great many plays of Strindberg were produced in Germany. Finally we are reminded of the fact that German critics have recognized the Strindberg influence as a formative factor of the expressionistic drama.

After these preliminary remarks the author proceeds to examine his series of factors in actual dramatic practice as revealed in a large number of representative expressionistic plays. Chapter VII contains a list of the control factors and a conclusion which in essence amounts to this: Expressionistic drama is mainly characterized by *Ausstrahlungen des Ichs*. This drama does not endeavor to escape from this world into another better one, nor does it reproduce man in his various situations of life. It disregards the traditional dramatic unities and is not concerned primarily with art itself. Its chief concern is to search for essential reality in our part of the universe. It is a *Weltanschauung* and not a program for the arts. Consequently, expressionistic drama cannot be disposed of in any known dramatic category.

In closing Part I, the author makes the following summary of his findings: Expressionism has been more of a lofty gesture than the realization of a *Weltanschauung* in art-form. Errors of dramatists and critics in their endeavor to interpret the gesture or to transmute it into an art-product have been the result.

What has taken place in Expressionism has its parallels in Romanticism, its products and critics. The aim of Expressionism, he adds, were sound, and its frailties no greater than could reasonably be expected. There are many good plays in the field, though none of outstanding genius. And this is natural enough, since the literary genre is the work of very young men. The views of Bab are probably correct, viz., that the world might experience considerable trouble in flowing through the egos of these boy-dramatists.

Part II, chapter I, deals with sources, limitations to the study, earlier investigations, and the autobiographical nature of Strindberg's works. Chapter II is devoted to a rather lengthy discussion of Strindberg's naturalistic dramas. The result of the inquiry is that *Miss Julia* retains its naturalistic standing. But *The Father* and the *Dance of Death* (I and II) are pronounced misfits in so far as the old classification is concerned. "The Father is clearly not satisfactory as a naturalistic drama for the simple reason that it is not naturalistic. The setting of the drama is not in the milieu of everyday life, but in the plane of sleepwalker realism that characterizes expressionistic drama." *The Dance of Death* likewise "has qualities that definitely remove it from the old classification." Neither the one nor the other of these plays can be termed "life seen through a temperament." *The Father* is rather "life flowing through a soul. It is Strindberg's world and Strindberg's ego flowing together in a supersensitive self." *The Dance of Death* is a "reflection from Strindberg's ego, not a Strindbergian imitation of observed reality."

If the arguments of the author relative to the two dramas mentioned seem somewhat forced and fail to convince the reader now and then, it is quite different in the case of the trilogy *On to Damascus* and *The Great Highway*. Both are admittedly of decided expressionistic character. The former in particular has received so much attention on the part of other critics that the author might have been justified in dismissing the drama in shorter order, had earlier writers not paid too much attention to interpretation and too little to expressionistic analysis. *The Great Highway* is so clearly and so closely related to *On to Damascus* that the author wisely considered a detailed discussion of the play unnecessary.

Between *On to Damascus* and *A Dream Play*, a number of plays were written by Strindberg but only six have been subjected to analysis. The plays concerned are: *Advent*, *There are Crimes and Crimes*, *Easter*, *Midsummer*, *Swanwhite*, and *The Bridal Crown*. Of these the first three are more or less expressionistic. The three remaining do not respond to expressionistic norms.

After an extensive and instructive discussion of *A Dream Play*, the author comes to the conclusion that it, like *On to Damascus*, is "an exquisite expressionistic drama." Not only is it well rounded out with all the necessary characteristics of expressionism, but it is also a fine example of the art-product. "It satisfies," says the author, "all the requirements, although the Prologue gives one a sense of artificiality."

In chapter VI the author examines Chamber Plays and Dramatic Fragments. Here are passed in review such plays as *The Thunderstorm* which exhibits certain expressionistic traits. *After the Fire* is but slightly expressionistic. *The*

Ghost Sonata is dealt with at length and pronounced "a full-fledged expressionistic creation." *The Pelican* has many expressionistic elements. But it is not a strong play and belongs therefore to the frontiers if not within the domain of the genre. *The Black Glove* lies outside of the field. The two fragments *The Hollander* and *Toten-Insel* are also to be included among Strindberg's expressionistic creations.

Chapter VII forms the close of the study. Here the author makes some unexpected remarks relative to the religious element in Strindberg's post-Inferno plays and other writings. The whole passage had better been left out entirely.

The work is otherwise excellently planned and executed. That there is much repetition cannot be denied, but in a work of the kind, it is more or less unavoidable. Misprints are few and not at all serious. On the whole the study is a credit to the author and constitutes most certainly a valuable and welcome contribution to Strindbergiana.

AXEL JOHAN UPPVALL

University of Pennsylvania



PAGE(S)

D MISSING

A MANUSCRIPT BY CARL JONAS LOVE ALMQUIST

This manuscript, written in English by Carl Jonas Love Almquist during his sojourn in the United States (1851-1865), is mentioned by Dr. Ruben G:son Berg in the ninth chapter of his important work. *C. J. L. Almquist i landsflykten*, Alb. Bonniers Förlag, Stockholm, 1928. It was discovered, if I remember correctly, among other papers in the attic of a house in Bremen where Almquist roomed at, or shortly before, his death. Dr. Berg forwarded a copy of the manuscript to the writer asking that a search be made with a view to ascertain whether the manuscript had found its way into the American press. Two other copies of manuscripts accompanied it. A search was instituted but the results were negative.

The copies received from Dr. Berg did not bear any signature. Whether the originals were signed by Almquist, is not known to the writer. This copy is a faithful reproduction of the copy sent by Dr. Berg. Only a couple of brackets have been inserted by the writer.

The manuscript in copy is offered to *Scandinavian Studies and Notes* as a mere *curiosum*. But while it is insignificant, to say the least, both in respect to form and contents like all of Almquist's literary attempts during his voluntary exile abroad, it is not entirely void of interest to the admirers of the great Swedish author. It shows that even in his old age, his fertile imagination of former years was quite alive and that he was, to quote Dr. Berg, "an even as bold as unscientific etymologist." And just as in his younger years his interests were many as indicated by other articles of his hand. He invaded many fields and wrote simultaneously in Swedish, German and English. In the two latter languages his literary output was probably quite limited owing to his imperfect knowledge of these idioms. But to judge by the articles and fragments which he left, we know that he tried to write, not only for his own pleasure but in all probability in order to earn a little towards his daily bread.

For Almquist's activities in Bremen up to his death there, see chapter seven of Dr. Berg's work mentioned above.

The manuscript in question reads as follows:

AMERICA

A NATIVE NAME OF THIS CONTINENT

The general opinion is, that the world has committed a great injustice, or at least displayed a want of gratitude towards *Christopher Columbus*, the celebrated Discoverer of the Western hemisphere, by not giving his name to this new continent, but by conferring upon it that of a far inferior man, *Americus Vesputius*, or *Vespuzzi*. This injustice never had a foundation; nor did this continent derive its name from *Vespuzzi*.

It is a well established fact, that when Columbus went to the west, crossed the Atlantic, and discovered this country, he was under the impression, that what he found was not a new land but belonged to the eastern shores of Asia, as a part of the old and celebrated India. For that reason he gave the general name of *Indies* to the country he discovered; and the spanish Government, in accordance with the notions of Columbus himself, did the same. In all the public documents from that time, we can see the name of *Indies*, and nothing else. Hence it was, that neither the government, nor the public, nor even Columbus himself ventured to assign any other title to this continent, for it was believed there was no need for any other. Of course [neither] injustice, nor ingratitude could be charged; as the designation was the result of the general persuasion that these shores belonged to the Asiatic India. So much for the first point.

Now we will look at the second, and see how that stands. The reason for the name of *America*, as afterwards derived from the florentine navigator *Americus Vesputius*, is involved in some mystery. It seems to be an inference, very easy and clear to understand, that *Vesputius'* first name, *Americus*, has given the origin to the name of *America*. So it was, no doubt, in the first place, or *prima facie*. But there are some very singular and curious facts connected with the inference. The first European, who made use of the name of *America*, according to *Alexander von Humboldt*, was a certain german, *Martinus Ilacomylus*/or *Waldseemuller*/, Professor of geography in the gymnasium of

Saint Dié, and editor of Maps/about the year 1507/. He did—it is asserted—in compliment to Vesputius; and his reason for so doing—it is said—was to please the Duke, his sovereign, and who was a friend of the florentine Gonfalonier Soderini. We know from Bandini, that Vesputius, although at that time in the service of Spain, was in continual correspondence with his friends in Florence and amongst others with the Gonfalonier Soderini. The consequence of all those connexions was—says the story—that Ilacomylus, to oblige his Duke, and the Duke to oblige Soderini, and Soderini to oblige his beloved friend and subject, Vesputius, *caused the name America to be engraved upon the map*. At first it appears to have been nothing but a project of Ilacomylus, a kind of geographical fancy; but after half a century, or so, the learned men in Germany, and soon afterwards in France, Italy and England accepted it. By and by the whole european public consented to it; and Spain itself, at last finding out, that the name “Indies” was very improper, as the thing had nothing to do with the Asiatic India, gave up this old denomination altogether, and adopted the new one of America.

But here begins the mystery. Vesputius’s own christian name, originally, *was not Americus*, or Amerigo. It is ascertained and fully established fact, that Vesputius’/or Vespuzzis/name was *Alberic*. In Navarrete is to be seen a great number of Cédulas, emanated from the king and the government of Spain, concerning Vespuzzi, before and after his navigation: and in those public and authentic acts he is never called Amerigo, but Alberic. Whence—we may ask—did his new name Americus come from and for what reason did he adopt it? This is the great question.

We have in our possession a manuscript Lecture, concerning this question, clearing up the mystery in a satisfactory way; but too circumstantial and necessarily prolix to be inserted here. We impart, however, the principal facts of this highly interesting Lecture.

On the northern coast of South America there is a tract of land, of old bearing the denomination of *Marecapana*, and still to be traced in many places on this coast, in former days be-

longing to the Caribbeans. *Pan* or *Pana* is the local termination/meaning "the place"/, and the whole of the word Marecapana denotes the country of Mareca, *The Mareca-land*. You will find the same Pan in several names of towns and of districts surrounding the towns, even higher up on the continent, as Mayapan, Chiapa/of old: Chiapan/etc. The very name of Mareca is not only to be found in the Marecapan, but also in the great lake Maraca-ibo, surrounded by this Mareca-country. And the letter A, an article put before Mareca/just in the same way as A or Ha, put before [-]ity has made Hajty, the old caribbean name of that great island; and just as E or Hi, put before Spania, Spain, has made Hispania, Espana etc./I say, just in the same way has formed *A-mareca*, meaning articulated, "*The Mareca*"/the very Mareca Country./

Now, the fact is—you can see it in Navarrete, Herrera, and others, that when Vespucci first sailed to this continent in company with Ojeda, the very coast, where he disembarked and sojourned for some time, was this same Marecapana or A-mareca. The story describes Vespucci being struck with admiration by the aspect of the country, the gentle manners of the inhabitants, and the enchantment of the scene. Why should not he like to assume a title in remembrance of this country, and of the first place upon which he planted his foot in the new world? Why should he not call himself *Americus* or *Americanus*, just as Scipio was called *Africanus* from his visiting Africa?

History is not express in its terms about this, or that Vespucci took it so. But certain it is, that he never—either from envy towards Columbus/for von Humboldt asserts that Columbus and Vesputius continued to be the best friends, during their whole lives/, nor from any other bad motiv—gave this name to the new continent. The fact is, that he did not give it at all. South America, as a whole, went for a long while under the special name of *Tierra del Zur* (South-land/. Vespucci, in all probability, took his name, *Americus* or *Amerigo*, from the native name of the country *A-mareca*/our pronunciation of the word is exactly America: the spanish is some little at variance/; and it was unknown before the german geographer Martin Ilacomylus, who took it in his head, or got the fancy, to borrow

Vesputius' assumed byname, and give it back to its country, in a greater extent* of the meaning.

But, when we say, that the great continent of America originally derived its name from a very narrowly circumscribed district, it is not more wonderful than with respect Asia and Europe, Asia took name from a very small district in Asia Minor/in Maconia or Lydia/, and Europa, from a little slip of land on the coast of ancient Thrace. . . . Well? Do not Asia and Europa go in the public with *native names*, for all that? Yes, certainly. And just for the same reason does America go with a *native name*, also this name has been obliged to walk through Vesputius, as a sort of intermedium.

From the above-mentioned Lecture j[I] could easily give you an explanation of the linguistical meaning of the word *Mareca*, but j[I] omit it, in want of place here.

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* MS (copy) is not clear, but I think we should read *extent* rather than *expent*.

OLD NORSE PHONOLOGICAL NOTES

I. Substantives with Double Gender: a) *fingr* m.n. 'finger', b) *yxn:ðxn* m.n. 'oxen', c) *dyrr* plur. f.n. 'door', d) *lyf* f.n. 'healing plant'.

a) *Fingr* was primarily masculine (cf. Goth. *figgrs* m.). Occasionally, however, it appeared as a neuter.

The shift to the neuter gender I attribute to the influence of the neuter *a*-stem *bein* 'leg', because of the fact that both *fingr* and *bein* had the same form in the nom.-acc. plural as in the nom.-acc. singular (i.e., *fingr:fingr*, *bein:bein*) and because *fingr* and *bein* both referred to parts of the body (cf. the nom.-acc. form *hendr*, in place of **hendir* < Goth. *handjus*, due to the influence of *fótr*¹).

b) *Yxn:ðxn* 'oxen' was primarily masculine (*uxi:oxi* m.). In this nom.-acc. plural form, however, it sometimes appeared in the later manuscripts² as a neuter.

This shift to the neuter gender I attribute to the influence of the neuter *a*-stem *hþnsn* 'Hühner' because of the fact that both *ðxn* and *hþnsn* ended in *-sn* (*ðxn* = *ðk-sn*) and contained the radical vowel *ð* and because both words referred to animals.³ The by-form *yxn* took is neuter gender from *ðxn*.

c) *Dyrr* (< **duriz*) plur. 'door' was primarily feminine (cf. OE-OS *duru* f., OHG *turi* f.). However, in the nom.-acc. form *dyr(r)* it appeared even in the older manuscripts⁴ as a neuter.

I am not at all certain as to what influence this shift to the neuter gender was due but I suggest the following possibility.

The word *dyrr* was used only in the plural but with singular force (plurale tantum). We have the substantive *flet* n. (*ja-*

¹ Cf. Elias Wessén, "Till de feminina substantivböjningarnas historia," *Festskrift til Hjalmar Falk*, 91.

² Cf. Noreen, *Aisl. Gram.*,⁴ §401, 2.

³ Dieter (*Laut- und Formenlehre der altgerm. Dialekte*, §368, 1, Anm. 3) attributes this shift of gender to the influence of the neuter *a*-stem *naut* 'Rindvieh.'

This is far less likely than my hypothesis because of the lack of formal agreement between *naut* and *yxn:ðxn*. The shift in gender must have been favored by *formal* as well as semantic resemblance. The substantive *naut* may have been a contributing factor in this shift, but it is not likely that it furnished the starting point.

⁴ Cf. Noreen, *op. cit.*, §416, Anm. 4.

stem) 'floor'. The word *dyrr* could have borrowed its neuter gender from *flet* because of the fact that *dyrr* could be felt as a singular *ja*-stem like *flet* (altho formally plural, cf. *dyrrin* with def. art.) and because both words referred to parts of the house.

That the synonymous *hurð* f. (*i*-stem) 'door' did not suffer a similar shift in gender may be explained by the fact that *hurð* had no umlauted radical vowel like *dyrr*, which afforded the point of contact between *dyrr* and the neuter *ja*-stem *flet*.

d) *Lyf* (<**lubja*, cf. Goth. *lubja-leis, leisei*) was primarily neuter. The neuter gender is preserved in the plurale tantum *lyf* 'healing herb'. Its transition to the feminine *jō*-stem was no doubt due to the identity of form between the nom.-acc. singular of the neuter *ja*-stems and of the feminine *jō*-stems (cf. original **lyf* n. nom.-acc. sing. = *lyf* f. nom.-acc. sing. like *klyf* 'load', etc.).

II. The Leveling of Verner's Law in the Strong Verbal System.

Thru analogical leveling and thru secondary sonantizing of the spirants $\mathfrak{p} > \mathfrak{ð}$, $\mathfrak{f} > \mathfrak{b}$ after vowels the original traces of Verner's Law in the strong verb have in ON been largely obliterated.

Only the shift $h > g$ (which occurs chiefly in the 6th ablaut series) has been kept intact thruout.⁵ This was no doubt due to the fact that the original *h* of the present and the preterit singular system was lost so that leveling in favor of *h* was no longer possible: cf. *slá* (<**slahan*), *sló* (<**slōh*): *slógum*, *sleginn*; *fá* (<**fāhan*), *fekk* (<**feng* for *fē* <**fēh* <**fenh*): *fengum*, *fenginn*.

The variation *hw:γw* has likewise been obliterated due to the fact that both these velarized spirants were lost in inter-

⁵ Original **felhan* of the 3rd ablaut series (Goth. *filhan*, *falh:fulhum*, *fulhans*) had on account of the loss of *h* passed over into the 4th ablaut series but has here preserved the correct phonetical form with *g* in the past participle: *fela*, *fal:fēlum*, *folginn*.

The shift $h > g$ does not occur in *ðask:ðgja*, contrary to Heusler (*Aisl. Elementarb.*², §196). *G*, not *h*, was the original consonant and *ðask* represents a secondary formation from the stem **ð-* <**ðh* <**ðγ* = Goth. *ðg* (cf. Falk-Torp, *Norw.-Dän. etym. Wtb.* I, under *ave* and Fick, *Vgl. Wtb. der indo-germ. Sprachen*, 9, under *ag*).

medial position: cf. *schwan > sjá, *sahw > sá: *sāγwum > sǫm, *seyw-an-aR > sénn.

Since *p* and *f* had already become sonantized after vowels the only traces of original *ð* and *þ* occur after nasals where the spirants *ð:þ* had been shifted to stops: cf. *stan-d-a:stōð* (<*stōþ = Goth. *stōþ-uh*); *finna* (<*finþan), *fann:fun-d-um*, *fun-d-inn*—for *þ* examples are lacking.

The shift *s:r* originally occurred in the 1st, 2nd, 5th and the reduplicating series but for the most part leveling in favor of *s:s* has obtained thruout the verbal system. This must be due to the fact that here the other spirants in question (*p:f*) were already sonantized and therefore showed no variation. Nor could the variation *h:g* occur on account of the phonetic loss of *h*. Hence *s:r* was leveled to *s:s* (in favor of the consonant of the present system and of the preterit singular system) in conformity not only with *ð:ð* (written also *þ:þ*) and *f:f* but also with the vast number of verbs whose stem ended in a (single) stop (which, of course, showed no variation).

a) First ablaut series, *s:s* thruout: *físa*, *feis:fisum*, *fisinn*; *rísa*, *reis:risum*, *risinn*; also past part. *visinn* (**vísa*).

With these compare *riða*, *reið:riðum*, *riðinn* (with *ð:ð*) and *drífa*, *dreif:drifum*, *drifinn* (with *þ:þ*) and *grípa*, *greip:gripum*, *gripinn* (with the stop *p* thruout).

b) Second ablaut series, *s:s* thruout (except in *frjósa*, *kjósa*); *gjósa*, *gaus:gusum*, *gosinn*; *hnjósa*, *hnaus:hnum* (**hnosinn*); *hrjósa*, *hraus:hnum* (**hrosinn*); *frjósa*, *fraus:frusum*, *frosinn*; *kjósa*, *kaus:kusum*, *kosinn*.

In the latter two verbs contact with the reduplicating type⁶ *sþrum:rþrum* (hence *frþrum:kþrum*, *frera:kera*) has interfered with the normal leveling tendency of *s:r* to *s:s*. The retention of *r* in the forms *kurum* and *kþrinn* (*korinn*) was probably due to the same influence (i.e., to the presence of the *r* in the preterit forms *kera:kþrum*).

c) Fifth ablaut series, *lesa*, *las:lásun*, *lesinn* but *vesa* (*vera*), *vas(var):vrum*, *verit* (*vesit*).

Lesa shows the normal tendency to level *s:r* to *s:s*; cf. *gefa*,

⁶ Cf. my article "Über Neubildungen bei *frjósa* und *kjósa*," *JEGPh.*, 16, 499 ff.

gaf:gófum, gefinn (with *ð:ð*) and *kveða, kvað:kvǫðum, kveðinn* (with *ð:ð*).

That this was not the case with *vesa* may be due to the atonic character of the substantive verb.⁷ With the retention of *r* in the preterit plural and past participle its extension to the other parts of the verb was a natural process (cf. Germ. *war*).

d) Reduplicating verbs all show leveling *s:r* to *s:s* except those which have initial *s*: cf. *ausa, jós:jósum (jusum), ausinn; blása, blés:blésum, blásinn* but *sá, se-r-a:sǫ-r-um, sáinn:snúa, sne-r-a:snǫ-r-um, snúinn*.

In the latter type *sera* (<*sezǫ), *snera* (<*snezǫ), similarly *sþrum:snþrum*, the retention of the original *r* was undoubtedly due to the influence of the reduplicating type *grera:rera*, etc. with original *r* before the radical vowel (*gróa:róa*).

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⁷ Similarly in WGerm. leveling has usually taken place in the 5th ablaut series except in the case of the substantive verb (cf. E. Prokosch, *JEGPh.*, 20, section 24, pp. 484-5).

ANOTHER UNPUBLISHED BREMER LETTER TO THE DOWNINGS

Recently while studying the autograph collection owned by Mr. O. Ecklof of Providence, Rhode Island—the same gentleman who was instrumental in obtaining the other Bremer letters to the Downings—I came upon another unpublished letter to the same addressees. It should be inserted, chronologically, between the letters of February 3 and February 25, 1850, which were published in November, 1930 (XI, 4), in the *Scandinavian Studies*. We are publishing it here, with the owner's consent, for the obvious reason of greater completeness and because of its references to the author herself, and to the Springs, Mrs. Kirkland, Lowell and Emerson. Several erasures in the manuscript give physical evidence, again, of Fredrika Bremer's difficulties with the written English language. These deletions are here omitted, but otherwise the letter is reproduced, by way of scientific illustration, exactly as written. Those who have read the other letters, with the notes, will need no extensive editorial comments.

Boston, 19 Febr. 1850

My kind and most partial friends! I thank you for your partiality, for your kindness! The feeling of it has been to me a breath of summer in the winter of this past time! Past! Yes, thank God, I can now say *past*, this time of suffering is past, and I feel myself almost restored to the health and strength I had when I first landed on the shores of America. And you, my dear American brother have a great part in that restoration, then [German, *denn*; Eng., *for*] the Homeopathic pills you gave me before we parted and their effect one night, led me to call for a Homeopathic doctor, and when his medicines failed in giving me sleep yours never did. And much has that annoyed my good doctor who says: "I don't like that Downings medicine which overtops mine. I do'n't like it, for I have not given it to you!" Still his medicine in conjunction with yours has at last prevailed in making me well again. And as my little bottle (my Downing-medicine) is almost at an end I am anxious to know the name of the medicine, for I shall certainly not go

about in America without having it with me, as a good spirit locked up in the little bottle, which spirit can be called forth to be a benefactor and friend in hours of darkness.¹ And I am certain it is not the spirit of Homeopathi alone who is mighty in it, but a mightier spirit, that of a human good will and kindness.

Next Monday I shall go to New York. For the first days I shall be at the rosy Cottage of my friends the Springs and then at Mrs. Kirkland with whom I shall go to Philadelphia. I shall stay but a very little time in New York. I need not say how glad I should be to see you there my beloved friends. But I do not wish you to go there only for giving me that pleasure, in this time of the year where the weather is so changing and trying. I could be with you only a few hours and that is very incomplete seeing. Time wears swiftly on, and in some weeks more I rely to be with you in beautiful quiet and intimacy by the great waters of Niagara. Young Lowell and his lovely wife wish also to meet me there, and I think we will make a most harmonious party there together. I should enjoy to bring you and the Lowells together. I know, you will enjoy one another. At Niagara we will trace our plans for future excursions. I trust we shall have some good ideas there and learn som wisdom of the giant.

Oh my friends! Much have I learnt already and much shall I still learn by this young giant world, and some of its representatives; much have I to thank for. I long for quiet hours to look over my treasures, and to convert them into life. But I feel as if life was to short for that. And certainly it should be so if it was limited only to this earthly apparition. I have been running terribly about of late, and been in many places in the same day. I feel very vexed at times by not being capable of answering all attentions and kindnesses which are bestowed on me. Is is a shower bath of flowers, books, little presents invitations and agreeabilities every day which I cannot but feel oppressive as I cannot even thank for them, and it is to much for a single individual to take up with. But I know that my

¹ It will be remembered that Downing refused to reveal the name or chemical composition of his medicine, possibly because it contained opiates, and Downing, not being a physician, had no right legally to prescribe any medicine.

heart will enlarge under the memory of it when I shall be more at rest. I don't know if I have written to you of my visit to Lowell (the [city of] manufacture*); things have come so quickly on my time these last weeks. Still out of all these crowds there is but one figure which stands very eminently forth rising in beauty and power, and that is—*Emerson!* (R. W.).

As to his doom on Socialism (and which I heard him deliver at the Lyceum Hall here in Boston), I am far from agreeing with him or with you, my dear, aristocratic friend. The Phalanxtery is but a narrow form of Socialism, and does not swallow it up. There are no spoons nor skimmers in human forms to the eye of God. The gem of a good will can be harboured in a very poor form of human being, and paired to a head not strong/or high/enough to be lifted on a pedestal. Still it must be respected, and protected from being trampled down by the feet of the proud. Emerson is a noble man but to much of an intellectual aristocrat. But of these matters we will quarrel by the roar of Niagara! There and here and for ever your

loving friend

Fredrika.

* of the beautiful and inspiring sight from druecott (?) hill of the manufactures staring (?) with lights as fayry palaces in the night when all the stars were out in heaven to look upon them! [Note by F.B.].

CORRIGENDA

A Modification and Supplement

In my article on Paulding's *Koningsmarke*, *The Long Finne* (*Scand. Studies* for February, 1932), I made this statement (p. 17): "Just where Paulding obtained the name "Koningsmarke" is difficult to say. There was, so far as we know, no such name among the Swedish or Finnish colonists on the Delaware—or anywhere else in America."

This assertion should be modified. After my article had gone to press, it occurred to me that I *had* seen the name "Köningsmark" in some old account of New Sweden on the Delaware. A second investigation brought the following results, which are probably already known to some readers of the *Studies*: An impostor, whose real name was Marcus Jacobsson but who called himself "Köningsmark," appeared among the colonists of New Sweden during the governorship of William Penn, did a great deal of damage and brought much trouble to the colonists. He "found many followers, especially among the Finns. He was apprehended, properly punished, and banished from the country. They who supported him forfeited their homes, and suffered heavy loss. He also wellnigh brought his countrymen, who were innocent, into evil report and suspicion, had not the honesty of these people in general been well known by so many proofs before" (Israel Acrelius, *A History of New Sweden*, translated by William M. Reynolds, *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, XI (1876), p. 116). In Robert Proud's *A History of Pennsylvania* (I, 128) the impostor's name is given as "Conningsmark," and in the *Annals of the Swedes on the Delaware* (1835) by the Rev. Jehu Curtis Clay it is spelled "Koenigsmark" (see third edition, 1914, p. 34). His "falsehood and machinations" were disclosed by Peter Koch to whom he confessed that his real name was Jacobsson.

Of course it is not only possible but highly probable that Paulding had read of this Königsmark in Proud's *History of Pennsylvania*, which had been published in 1797-1798, and that he had then bestowed the impostor's stolen alias upon the hero of his novel.

We learn, too, that a certain district of New Sweden was for a long time called "Elsingborg," so that Paulding's "Elsingburgh" was knowingly or unknowingly an essentially correct historical name-loan (see Acrelius, *op. cit.*, p. 45).

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REVIEW

Ernst Ahlgren i hennes romaner. Ett bidrag till det litterära åttitalets karakteristik.

By Sten Linder. Akademisk avhandling. . . . Uppsala. Stockholm, Alb. Bonniers, Boktryckeri, 1930. 429 pp. including bibliography and index.

Students of *Åttitalet* in Swedish literature, and more particularly those whose researches enter into the prose fiction of this decade will remember with gratitude Göran Lindblad's *August Strindberg som berättare* (Stockholm, 1924), a very illuminating study in the early narrative art of Strindberg, that many-sided, characteristically restless genius of this period. Lindblad's book may perhaps be said to have established the literary and scholarly standard for other studies in the prose fiction of the 80's that have since come out.

Of the other writers of prose fiction during this period, Ernst Ahlgren, in some senses a fascinating feminine parallel to Strindberg, and one of the most gifted story tellers of the decade, seems to have been especially fortunate in the amount and quality of general criticism and scholarly attention that she has been accorded. In addition to a large number of critical articles (by such significant pens as those of Ellen Key, Oscar Levertin, Gustaf af Geijerstam, Ola Hansson, and George Brandes) written during the years just before the opening of our century, two extended pieces of scholarship have in recent years been occupied with her. First, a year after Lindblad's Strindberg book, Ingrid af Schultén offered her *Ernst Ahlgren: en litterär studie*, a careful analysis of the more purely literary aspects of Ernst Ahlgren's novels; and now Sven Lidner's *Ernst Ahlgren i hennes romaner* comes to brush away further much of the mystery that surrounds the short career of Ernst Ahlgren. Thus already, scarcely more than a generation after her tragic end, Ernst Ahlgren has been the subject of two penetrating and rather lengthy studies, an attention that has been given to few figures who admittedly do not stand in the front rank of Scandinavian letters. Even before Lidner's book came out, Axel Lundegård, close friend and literary executor of Ernst Ahlgren, wrote: "Likafullt hör hon redan till de mest omskrivna av de senaste femtio årens svenska författare." (*Victoria Benedictsson, Dagboksblad och brev*, Stockholm, 1:28, I, 6).

Lidner's recent book, as the title suggests, occupies itself primarily with two problems: first, to reveal the relationship of Ernst Ahlgren herself—her character, her experience of life, etc.—to her novels; and secondly, to trace the points of contact between Ernst Ahlgren and her novels to the generation in which she lived. Lidner thus complements the earlier study of Ingrid af Schultén, whose point of view was more purely literary. In working out the details of his study our author is especially effective in his treatment of his novelist in relation to her generation, though the even more personal relationship of Ernst Ahlgren to her work is by no means neglected. The study is divided into an introduction, called "Temperamentet och Tidsanden," and four chapters, entitled respectively, "Före Pengar, *Lady Macbeth*," "Pengar," "*Fru Marianne*," and "Efter *Fru Marianne*." The first three chapters are very full, especially the third, and the last chapter, chiefly involved with a hasty analysis of *Modern*, is

rather sketchy, in fact all too sketchy in the reviewer's estimation. To *Fru Marianne* is given over two hundred pages of the study, an attention which the novel probably deserves despite the fact that some critics and literary historians, such as Warburg, shy away from it with an only half-hearted treatment. A list of the nine subheadings under which *Fru Marianne* is considered reveals the comprehensive analysis to which the novel is here subjected: "Romanens genesis," "*Fru Marianne* som äktenskapsroman," "Kvinnouppfattning: anti-individualism och anti-intellektualism," "*Fru Marianne* som bonderoman. Kulturproblemet," "Ärftlighets- och viljeproblemen i *Fru Marianne*," "Sekelsluts-pessimism och dekadansesteticism," "Etiskt och estetiskt i *Fru Marianne*," "Naturalism," and "Berättarkonst."

In taking up an interpretation of *Åttitalet* as the immediate background for his problem, Lidner is not working in an undeveloped field. Dozens of Scandinavia's most eminent critics and scholars of the last generation have been here before. Yet Lidner succeeds admirably, for the most part, in the task of bringing these multifarious materials to bear upon his author, and gives to his whole interpretation an individual analytical stamp that marks his study not only as an essentially original venture in Ernst Ahlgren studies, but as one of the most illuminating general syntheses of the thing we call *åttitalsanden*.

Particularly illuminating is he when he is dealing with the relationship between Ernst Ahlgren and such contemporary Scandinavian literary *stormän* as Ibsen, Strindberg, and George Brandes. The points of contact here are numerous and very significant. Lidner, with commendable documentation at most points, shows us how Ernst Ahlgren, after an early infatuation with Byronism (or perhaps we should say Byron) and English *missromaner*, ultimately finds her true self, in the early 80's, in the ranks of the then prevailing Scandinavian realists. "Efter denna tid sysselsätta sig hennes anteckningar enbart med samtida realistisk litteratur. I ett brev från oktober 1882 till en skrivande dam, som bett henne om litterära råd, uppmanar hon adressaten att ej blott läsa gamla författare, utan 'följa med vår litteratur t. o. m. om den lutar en smula åt vänster. . . . När jag säger *vår* litteratur menar jag icke de litterära fattigdomsbevis som till varje jul tryckas på svenska, utan snarare danska och norska arbeten för de sista tio åren.' Hon nämner bl. a. Drachmann, Schandorph, Topsøe, bröderna Brandes, Ibsen, Kielland, Elster, Bååth, fru Edgren 'och—skall jag våga tillägga—Strindberg.' " (p. 46). Later, it might be said, her Strindberg interest became much more wholehearted. Ibsen, however, throughout these years, is the author in whom she finds the strongest kinship. It is in Ibsen's thorough-going individualism that Ernst Ahlgren finds a strong and permanent appeal. "Den ibsenska individualismen, sanningskravet, helhetskravet och viljepatset ha genomsytrat både hennes personlighet och hennes verk. Den tveklöshet, varmed hon under åttitalets första år skjuter åsido alla andra hänsyn och intressen för sitt litterära arbete, visar att hon hörsammat Brands maning att 'være sig selv', att före allt annat förverkliga den personliga kallelsen. Ett från denna tid bevarat utkast till hennes 'stora roman' *Lady Macbeth* ådagalägger, att hon tillägnat sig och som författare medvetet efterlevat den ibsenska kallelseläran i dess mest paradoxalt idealistiska form. Även i *Pengar* är det Ib-

sens individualism, hans tro på varje människas, även kvinnans, plikt att framför allt vara sig själv och skapa sig själv en moraliskt värdig existens, som motiverar protesten mot det konventionella äktenskapet." (p. 25). This individualism that she found in Ibsen, Lidner shows us a bit later (not for the first time, of course, in Ibsen scholarship), had a strongly marked religious and ethical content. It was just this moral element that Brandes had so strongly reacted against in his criticism of *Brand* in the fall of 1867 in the pages of *Dansk Maanedsskrift*. Later Brandes found the same fault with *Peer Gynt*. In this attack upon Ibsen's conception of the individual we find the essential difference between Ibsen's and Brandes' view of the individual. Brandes, following the earlier Danish aestheticism, insisted that the individual free himself completely from all moral and religious bonds; Ibsen, the unyielding moralist, clearly implies in the characters of Brand and Peer Gynt that to "være sig selv" is nothing more nor less than to *lose oneself* in the idea or ideal. Strongly attracted by both Brandes and Ibsen, it is to the latter's stern idealism that Ernst Ahlgren finally gives herself. "I sin 'laglöshet' har hon ägt anknytningspunkt till det radikala frihetspatos, som mötte henne både hos Brandes och Ibsen. Men hon har, som jag vill söka visa, snarare likt Ibsen motiverat sitt frihetskrav ur plikten att följa en kallelse än likt Brandes ur plikten att följa sin natur; hon har medvetet pålagt sig även den ibsenska kallelselärans asketiska självförsakelse." (p. 75). Lidner might at this point have added that in the posthumously published sketch, *Den Bergtagna*, one finds evidences of the strong puritan training and essential personal idealism which motivated her final acceptance of Ibsen's individualism. In *Den bergtagna* she falls, indeed, but the fall leads inevitably to the annihilation of the individual.

Strong as Ibsen's influence is, however, Lidner points out that she is not overwhelmed by it. The strongly realistic and practical side of Ernst Ahlgren's nature—the sound conservatism of her *skånsk karakter*—finally discovers the paradox in Ibsen's realistic idealism; and in her last works, particularly *Fru Marianne* and *Modern*, we find a strong reaction against one side of Ibsen's hyperidealism. "... i Ernst Ahlgrens senare alstring kan man iakttaga en tydlig reaktion mot det verklighetsfrämmande, ensidigt intellektualistiska och hyperidealistiska draget hos mästaren. Under intrycket av egna öden och levnadsomständigheter framväxer hos henne en ny stark känsla för familjens och äktenskapets betydelse samt för blodsbandens irrationella styrka (*Fru Marianne*, *Modern*), hvilken bryter av mot Ibsens och åttitalets abstrakta individualism." (p. 25). And again: "En fortsatt analys av hennes diktning kommer... att visa, att hon som författare varit mäktig av en självständig reaktion mot de ibsenska idéerna. Det är den motsatta, verklighetsbetonade sidan av hennes natur, som så småningom gör sig gällande, samtidigt med att intrycket av Ibsens konstnärsromantik korsas av andra, mera realistiskt färgade strömningar." (p. 93). The point of departure from Ibsen is most strikingly manifested in her handling of *kvinnofrågan*. The question of the subjection of women had been a burning one in the Scandinavian countries ever since Brandes had brought out in 1869 his translation of John Stuart Mill's famous essay on the subject. Ibsen gave the problem its classic creative expression in *Et dukkehjem* ten years later. Ernst

Ahlgren's earliest novel, *Pengar*, is no doubt strongly influenced by Ibsen and Brandes on this question; but in her two last novels, *Fru Marianne* and *Modern*, we find her taking a much more independent stand with regard to her earlier masters. "Marianne's intellektuella begåvning är icke mera utpräglad, än att den för henne in på missormantikens allfarväg, och från den anser sig författarinnan ha rätt att leda henne tillbaka till det praktiska arbetet. Den med *Fru Marianne* samtida humoristiska novellen *En grobian* predikar samma lärdomar med tydlig udd mot det i emancipationens spår uppblomstrande blåstrumpeväsendet. Den nervösa sjuttonåringen, som vill göra nytta i litteraturen och för detta ändamål önskar lektioner i svenska av lektorn-grobien, hänvisas av denne med farbroderlig välvilja till att sticka strumpor åt fattiga barn." (p. 271). It is with Strindberg and Ellen Key, the two outstanding opponents of the prevailing independence of woman cult, rather than with Ibsen and Brandes, that Ernst Ahlgren takes her stand on the question of the subjection of women. (p. 271).

Though by far the greatest attention in Lidner's book is given to tracing Ernst Ahlgren's relation to her immediate contemporaries, specifically to *Åttitalet* in Sweden and to the closely related tendencies in Denmark and Norway, he also places his author, though of course in a much less detailed manner, in her larger Continental and English environment. Flaubert and Zola in France, Nietzsche and Schopenhauer in Germany, Turgenjev and Tolstoi in Russia, and Byron and George Eliot in England are but a few of the figures that receive a place in this book as a part of Ernst Ahlgren's larger background. The last chapter of the study, entitled "Ernst Ahlgren och nittitalet," provides an interesting, though somewhat sketchy, treatment of our author's relation to such romantic interpreters of Swedish folk life as Fröding, Karlfeldt, and Selma Lagerlöf. Lidner here provides some rather striking parallels, particularly between Fröding's *Värmländska låtar* and Ernst Ahlgren's short story collections *Från Skåne* and *Folkliv och småberättelser*. In two characteristics of Ernst Ahlgren's sketches, her authentic psychological realism and her sympathetic humor, she reveals herself as the predecessor of Fröding; these merely recur, though in an admittedly richer measure, in Värmland's great lyrical genius of the 90's. It is just in its lack of humor, as Fröding pointed out in his famous essay, *Om humor* (1890), that *Åttitalets* *sanden* had its greatest weakness. In the great English humorists, Dickens, George Eliot, and Shakespeare, the author of *Från Skåne* discovered the rich possibilities of the vein; and with an ability that revealed a deep appreciation of its creative value she brings the strain into a decade otherwise drearily lacking in it.

Lidner's analysis of his whole problem moves, in its broad outlines, with a comprehension and sureness of touch that is the mark of true synthetic powers; and even in matters of detail he is usually as sound as available evidences would seem to permit. In some matters of detail, however, one is apt to be somewhat skeptical of Lidner's conclusions. A case in point is his treatment of the unfortunate Axel Möller episode in the early pages of *Pengar*: "Man bör dock ej avfärda hans tillvaro i *Pengar* som endast en betydelslös och tyngande episod. Han är med säkerhet ditsatt för att markera romanens antiromantiska tendens

och är därigenom, som vi skola finna, en för tidens realistiska roman mycket typisk figur. Sitt konstnärliga *raison d'être* har han som kontrast till den unga Selma." (p. 143). Such an interpretation is possible, it would seem, but certainly questionable. As scholarship, it sounds dangerously like a case of special pleading. It would still seem, after all of Lidner's protestations to the contrary, that the soundest explanation of this episode is simply to consider it as a misstep, an ill-fated and *therefore* undeveloped episode, in the construction of the novel, suggestive, it might be admitted, of an anti-romantic theme but as actually developed a completely fizzled one. Lidner might have recalled at this point that Pål in *Fru Marianne* and William in *Modern* are characters somewhat in the Axel Möller kind, whose positions are far more central in their specific novels and who therefore fit much more closely the structural ideal. Axel Möller is merely an abortive effort in the direction of Pål and William.

Another dangerous piece of interpretation in Lidner occurs in connection with the Pål character. I refer to Lidner's ready identification of the Hamlet-type of early 19th century German romantic criticism with the decadent aesthetic so characteristic of latter 19th century pessimism. Nowhere in his book is his documentation more precarious than here; in fact, it is almost wholly missing. Fascinating as his theorizing is at this point—and much as one might wish to accept it—the relationship here is so weakly demonstrated that we can hardly accept the Lidner conclusions as authentic. Our author has here, I think, allowed himself to become enmeshed in one of those seductive snares that constantly beset the path of those who push too diligently the methods of the historical school of criticism. A much more defensible point of contact between latter 19th century decadent aestheticism and early 19th century romantic ideals, if one should insist upon establishing such a contact at all, is to be found, it seems to me, in the person of Byron. But Lidner, though he points out in another connection Ernst Ahlgren's early interest in Byron and his influence upon the unfinished *Macbeth*, neglects entirely at this point the possible Byronic indebtedness. Byron is not a decadent in the latter 19th century manner, of course, but he might easily be looked upon as an early prototype of such; and it is to be noted that his theatrical pessimism and his love for the softer physical responses, his dallying with passion and fondness for oriental color and richness, are just the traits of character that reveal themselves in Pål, though Pål, with none of Byron's violence of temperament, carries his ennui with more complete sophistication than Byron could ever do.

In dealing with Ernst Ahlgren's development in power of psychological analysis of character, especially as found in a comparison between *Pengar* and *Fru Marianne*, it would seem that Lidner gives all too much attention to the probable influence of Paul Bourget (p. 382), neglecting meanwhile what seems to me to be a far more plausible indebtedness, that of George Eliot. Ernst Ahlgren read Bourget and George Eliot almost simultaneously, and a comparison of two passages in her *Dagboksblad och brev* (II, 63-64, 101-2) would tend to bear out the assumption, I believe, that George Eliot was at least as significant as Bourget in teaching her the psychology of characterization, in all probability more so. In fact Lidner's whole study gives one the impression that he knew

the French novel much better than that of England. To accept blithely, as he does, Bourget as "skaparen av den 'psychologiska' roman, som skulle avlösa den naturalistiska" (p. 382), is to adopt a much too one-sidedly French version of the fortunes of the novel in the 19th century. George Eliot had died five years before Bourget's debut as a novelist, and the realistic psychological technique had been apparent in her novels from the very beginning, a full generation before Bourget had begun his career as a novelist. Lidner, it is to be noted, treats of a possible George Eliot influence at another point, and here his conclusions seem much more adequate. (p. 376-79).

It might be added in closing that the reader is naturally somewhat dissatisfied, in laying the book aside, that the vexing question of the personal relationship between Ernst Ahlgren and George Brandes is still left unsolved, especially inasmuch as this chapter in Ernst Ahlgren's short career is so important in any final analysis of her character insofar as it affects her work. Personal reasons, no doubt, still forbid the scholar access to the important letters, though it must be admitted that Lundegård's recent edition of the diary and letters goes a long way toward a solution of this relationship, particularly if read alongside of *Den bergtagna*. Certain it is that Lidner sums up the essence of her character when he speaks of "en konflikt inom henne själv mellan lyxbegär och spartanska grundsatser" (p. 186); and just as surely, it would seem, is it these "spartanska grundsatser" that finally dominate—though when they come to dominate, tragically enough, they become her nemesis in the very moment of victory. Her death at her own hands in a hotel in Copenhagen, the night of July 21, 1888, was the inevitable consequence.

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PAGE(S)

MISSING



IVAR AASEN AS A WRITER OF DANO-NORWEGIAN

Although Aasen was the creator of the language norm now known as New Norse and the founder of the New Norse Movement, he wrote, in the course of his life, more pages in Dano-Norwegian than in the new language. This is not surprising when we consider that much of this was written before he was ready to construct the new language; even in later years he wrote his scientific works in Dano-Norwegian in order to make them accessible to the general Norwegian and Danish public. As he was the first Norwegian who seriously ventured to question the supremacy of this language in Norway, it is of some interest to observe his treatment of it in his own writings.

In Aasen's school days Dano-Norwegian had not yet departed from Danish to any considerable degree. He gained his first knowledge of its grammar (aside from the very rudimentary instruction of the public school¹) from a small, hand-written grammar belonging to Corporal Olav Dirnes, presented to him not later than 1831, Aasen's eighteenth year.² Soon after, he secured a copy of Mauritz Hansen's *Grammatik i det norske og danske Sprog*, edition of 1828 (the third), which he read and re-read until he had thoroughly assimilated its contents. In the preface to this work he found expressed the author's firm belief that in a few decades the Norwegian language would become distinct from Danish. Yet there were few, if any, marks of this in the body of the grammar, and Hansen admitted that as yet the two languages were "as like as one drop of water to another." Except for the dropping of a few silent e's (recommended by the Danish philologist Rasmus Rask), his orthography was essentially identical with the more conservative Danish and Norwegian spelling of the early nineteenth century.³

¹ In a notation quoted by Koht, *Ivar Aasen* (1913), 20, he stated that this schooling consisted of ten days a year.

² According to Koht, *op. cit.*, 26, he got it in 1832, but see Aasen's autobiography, *Skrifter* I, 6, where he distinctly says that he got the book before he started teaching school, which was in 1831.

³ Cf. Seip, *Norskhet i Sproget hos Wergeland* (1914), pp. 34 and 71, and Burgun, *Le développement etc.* (1917, 1921) I, 83-4.

But even before this time Aasen had begun to compose in the language. He had poetic ambitions as early as his twelfth year (1825), from which we have preserved a poem entitled "En gudfrygtig Sjels Bøn." Others from 1829, 1832, and 1833 bear witness to a considerable itch for scribbling. He copied poems by Zetlitz and Frimann, Norwegian poets of the Danish period, as well as innumerable others.⁴ Dean Thoresen at Herø, in whose household he lived from 1833 to 1835, presented him with the works of the Danish poet Baggesen, who became one of his particular favorites. The climax of his early poetic activities came in 1836, when his eyes were opened to the bookish and imitative quality of his efforts, and he put an end to them with the laconic entry in his diary: "Med dette Aar slutter Rimerierne." Unfortunately the greatest part of these poems have never been published, and it is impossible to say much about their language. But to judge from the quotations in Koht's study,⁵ and the samples in Aasen's collected works,⁶ the language is normal Danish as it was then written in Norway, with no original or unexpected departures. The brief quotations in Koht from Aasen's letters to S. Aarflot 1833-1836⁷ confirm this impression, as does the essay "Om vort Skriftsprog" written in January 1836.⁸

But the year 1836 marked a turning-point in Aasen's life in more ways than one. On November 1, 1835, he accepted a position as a tutor in the household of Captain Daae at Solnør. Here Aasen found a large and many-sided library, and for the first time in his life came into full contact with the cultural life of his country. As a student of language and a peasant by birth, he could not fail to take a particular interest in the discussions concerning the Norwegian language which agitated Norway in the early thirties. There was a general feeling that the Danish language was unsuited for Norwegians, a feeling based perhaps more on theoretical and patriotic considerations than on the actual experiences of the city-born agitators. Already we dis-

⁴ Koht, *op. cit.*, 34.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, 39-40.

⁶ *Skr.* I, 154-5.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, 29, 39. Letters published in *Møre*, 1912-13.

⁸ *Skr.* III, 1-11.

cern the two opposing attitudes which have characterized the discussion of this problem ever since. On the one hand those who wished to break down the Danish character of the written language by a more or less gradual infiltration of Norwegian elements, led by Henrik Wergeland, Jonas Anton Hielm, and Ludvig Kristensen Daa. On the other those who, in the name of good taste and the "genius of the language," objected to any such bastard product and demanded the creation of a purely native language on the basis of the dialects—if there were to be any change at all. This view was supported by the growing authority of the learned P. A. Munch, still in his twenties.⁹

Aasen's own struggles with the alien book language, as well as the influence of democratic and nationalistic doctrines then current, caused him to look with sympathy on these proposals. But his enthusiasm had not yet directed him in any one path. He still stood at the parting of the ways. His diary shows that in 1836 he experimented with the insertion of Norwegian forms into the Danish language, as suggested, e.g., by L. K. Daa.¹⁰ This diary is also unpublished, but quotations in Koht's study allow us to determine the nature of his reforms:

- A. Phonology. 1. The introduction of Norwegian voiceless stops for the voiced stops after long vowel of Danish: *utmærke* 22,¹¹ *Kunskap* 22, *liik* 23, *uten* 30, *veet* 30, *Sprok* 30. He carried this to the length of producing such curious (and Knudsen-like) forms as *Stræpen* 30, *Brøle* 30, *Skut* 23, *Viten-skaper* 23. 2. The omission of silent, unhistorical *d* after *l* and *n*: *Kunskap* 22, 30, *Embedsman* 30, *Grunne* 30. 3. Occasional phonetic spellings, as when he omitted the historical, but silent *d* of *Or*, 22, and wrote *Konjugasjon* 30, *tvilsom* (Dan. *tvivl*-) 30. 4. Nor. *g* for Dan. *v*: *voge* 30.
- B. Inflection. He regularly used the pronominal form *seg* for Danish *sig*, and once the plural -ar for Danish -er is found: *Jamnaldrar* 22.

⁹ Vidar, August, 1832. Cf. Seip, *op. cit.*, 42-70. T. Knudsen, *P. A. Munch og samtidens norske sprogstrid*. (1832), 5-19.

¹⁰ *Morgenbladet*, Jan. 1836. Quot. Liestøl, *Syn og Segn* 1913, 330.

¹¹ Numbers refer to pages in Koht, *op. cit.*

C. Vocabulary. In these few quotations we find only one peculiarly Norwegian word, *Jamnaldrar*. 30.

Otherwise the entire body of his language was Danish, in form, vocabulary, and sentence structure. It will be seen that this fumbling, rather mechanical attempt was identical in purpose with Vinje's practice from 1852 to 1858, and resembled the doctrine so ardently preached by K. Knudsen after 1845.

But at the same time Aasen was absorbing the ideas of P. A. Munch and others, and wrote the succinct little essay "*Om vort Skriftsprog*," which demanded for Norway the creation of an independent written language, based on a comparison of the genuinely native dialects. This was his first definite declaration of the course he was to follow throughout his life. Why did he abandon his promising attempts to Norwegianize Danish and make this radical proposal? The reason he gave in the essay was the uncertainty and inefficiency of such an "*Aarhundredets Reformation*"; he feared that in the end it would be the popular tongue and not the written language which would be reformed. Back of this conviction lay a feeling of the incongruity of such language mixtures as he was experimenting with in his diary. The pure dialect on which he drew refused to fuse with the Danish; in his hands it remained a mere mechanical mixture. The chief cause was probably (as with Vinje) that Dano-Norwegian always remained a mere written language to him and never became his spoken tongue. He was reared in a dialect and did not come to reside in a city for any length of time before his thirty-third year, when he settled in Christiania.¹² Hence he felt more acutely than any city resident could, the gulf between the dialects and the written language. He could not, like Knudsen, draw on the living speech of the cities in his campaign for Norwegianization. Aasen's sensitive ear for linguistic harmony and the influence of Munch's "either-or" theories combined to make him react against the intrusion of Norwegianisms into Danish.

Hence his policy became to write Dano-Norwegian with as little admixture of Norwegian words and forms as possible. His orthography was in no way distinguished from the orthography of his times, and remained nearly constant from his first essay

¹² A. Burgun has suggested the same idea, *op. cit.*, I, 170, and II, 71.

(1836) to his last important composition in Dano-Norwegian, the preface to the dictionary of 1873. It was less modern than that advocated by Rask in 1826, by M. Hansen in 1837 (*Grammatik*¹³), and adopted by the schools in 1862.¹³ It was characterized by a moderate, not wholly consistent use of doubled vowels in closed syllables (*e, i, o*, rarely *u*) to indicate length, and similar use of silent *e* after a long final vowel: e.g., *døe* Gr² IV, *faae* Gr² III, *faaer* Skr. III, 7, *troer* Gr² XII, see Gr² V, *veed* Skr. III, 10, *Miil*, *Huus*, *Deel* etc. *passim* (but: *Leg Reise-erindringer* 48, *Sted* *ibid.* 122, *gaar* *ibid.* 48, *Tid* *ibid.* 143, *Flid* Gr² VI, *Brug* Gr² V, *staar* Gr² VI, *maa* Gr² II, *fri* Skr. III, 8, *Lighed* Skr. III, 7). He followed the usual practice of Dano-Norwegian in using full plural verbs (e.g. *toge*, *vare* *Reise-Erindringer* 8), *ei*, *øi* (inst. of *ej*, *øj*), *kj* before *e*, *æ*, *ø*, and such forms as *Tivlsmaal* (Gr² VIII), and *deres* where Norwegian speech uses *sine* ("Nordmændene synes ikke at have gjort sig megen Umage for at beholde deres gamle Maal."—Gr² VII). Foreign words were partly assimilated, though he sometimes vacillated: *ct* became *kt* in *Dialekt*, *Direktion*, *Distrikt* (but in his reports to the Scientific Society he wrote *District* 123, *Direction* 125, 140, etc. beside *Dialekt* 123, *Oktober* 142); he always retained *x* and *-tion*, as well as forms like *Kapitain* *Reise-Er.* 8, (*Capitain* Skr. I, 7) *Exerceerplads* *ibid.* 9, *Lieutenant* *ibid.*, 19, *Linier* *ibid.* 141; others were assimilated, as *Kontor* (but also *Contoir*), *Vokal*, *Diftong* *ibid.*, 132.

Norwegian words in his Dano-Norwegian are very rare, and are either used unconsciously or when demanded by the subject matter. In this event he regularly italicised them (*Kvare*, Skr. II, 139), or placed them in parentheses (*Bikarar*, II, 147) or quotation marks ("Fræmmindlag," II, 154), just as one might indicate any other unassimilated foreign loan words. Yet he was aware that some Norwegian words had been generally adopted (*Li*, *Hei*, etc.) and used these when necessary, though he noted in 1852 that some of them disturbed the harmony of the language.¹⁴ He was not interested in reforming Dano-Norwegian; in later years his chief reason for using it was to make

¹³ Seip, *op. cit.*, 74.

¹⁴ *Skr.* III, 46.

his scientific researches as widely accessible as possible. He confessed in the preface to his second dictionary that it cost him no little effort to find proper Danish terms for his dialect words: "The language to which we are accustomed in our newer books and newspapers is not very good Danish; at any rate, it contains certain expressions which scarcely will be found in any dictionary. . . . Such expressions must not enter into our explanations of Norwegian words, and I have therefore attempted to avoid them. . . ." ¹⁵ Yet he did not fall into the opposite error of Danicising; especially in his prose he avoided peculiarly and therefore offensively Danish turns of phrase.

In Dano-Norwegian, as in New Norse, his cardinal principle was to create a style as clear and comprehensible as he could. In a review of *Folkevennen* (1852) he upheld this as the ideal for writers who address themselves to the people. ¹⁶ He did not fail to see that even in Dano-Norwegian the adoption of familiar Norwegian words would serve this ideal, "that is to say, when one chooses the words with some judgment." ¹⁷ "By a sensible adoption and adaptation of convenient words of Norwegian origin, one can . . . make an approach to the properly Norwegian (det egentlige Norske) and store up a treasure of noble material which may well be retained whether the new language form comes into existence in our time or not." ¹⁸ In 1864 he repeated the idea: "To adopt a number of Norwegian words in Danish will undoubtedly be useful in writings for the common people. . . ." ¹⁹ It was in consonance with this outlook that he assisted Asbjørnsen in the progressive Norwegianization of the folk-tales. It has been discovered in recent years that in the seventies Aasen made more than a thousand linguistic corrections in a copy of the folk-tales (third edition), of which the sixth edition (1896) later adopted more than half. His influence on Dano-Norwegian was also felt through his work on the language of various books which were widely circulated among the people: Berlin's *Lærebog i Naturlæren* (2nd. ed. 1856), Siegwart Petersen's

¹⁵ *Dictionary*² (1873), X.

¹⁶ *Skr.* III, 24-56.

¹⁷ *Skr.* III, 46.

¹⁸ *Skr.* III, 49.

¹⁹ *Grammar*² (1864), X.

Norges Historie (3rd ed., 1861), Landstad's *Norsk Salmebog* (1870), Schübeler's *Havebog for Almuen* (1856).²⁰

But he always remained sceptical—as in his essay of 1836—concerning both the value and possibility of any large-scale commingling of Norwegian words with Danish. In 1852 he warned against discarding the Danish words unless one had “better” (i.e., more etymological) forms for the corresponding Norwegian words which one desired to substitute. By this he meant that one ought rather to write “Le” as in Danish, than the phonetic form of the Norwegian dialects “Jaa”; the proper form was the etymological “Ljaa.”²¹ In 1864 he wrote: “The form of the Danish language is pretty definitely established within rather narrow limits, so that any transgression is easily noticed and makes an unfortunate impression.”²² Yet within this range he himself learned to move with great virtuosity. As early as 1841 Bishop Neumann had praised his “cultivated style” and his remarkable “ability of presentation, which the most capable writer need not have been ashamed of.”²³ Seven years later P. A. Munch highly praised his “pure, clear, and truly classic style.”²⁴ That these were not empty words can be easily verified by any one who will compare Aasen’s clear, well-modeled sentences with, e.g., the ponderous periods of his learned friend Unger in the latter’s review of *Prøver af Landsmaalet*²⁵ or even with the more graceful prose of P. A. Munch. Aasen’s Dano-Norwegian prose—though perhaps a bit dry—was unquestionably one of the clearest and most precise instruments of expression being used in Norway at that time. But the lyric and emotional sides of his being were not released by this language: there he needed to revert to the more intimate and home-like accents of his native speech, as he later sublimated it in his New Norse poetry.

EINAR HAUGEN

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²⁰ K. Liestøl, “Ivar Aasen og fornorskingi,” *Maal og Minne* 1922, 1–19.

²¹ *Skr.* III, 49.

²² *Grammar*², XI.

²³ Quot. from reprint in J. Belsheim, *Ivar Aasen*, 8–15.

²⁴ *Norsk Tidsskrift for Videnskab og Litteratur* (Lange’s), 1848, 297.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 1853, 290–5.

REVIEW

The Old Norse Sagas. By Halvdan Koht. New York, The American-Scandinavian Foundation. (W. W. Norton & Co., inc.) 1931. \$2.50

Even after Sir W. A. Craigie's splendid little book (1913) there was room for a competent and scholarly, yet non-technical, book on the Old Norse sagas. This is filled now by Koht's volume. It represents the substance of a series of lectures delivered by the distinguished Norwegian historian before the Lowell Institute, Boston, during the fall of 1930.

During the last half century, history has been making at such an unprecedented rate, literary fashions have been bowling each other over with such bewildering rapidity, as to change our outlook radically on pretty nearly everything. Frankly, very little of the literary art of bygone ages in Europe is vital any longer—I am not speaking of the vested interests of the scholarly tribe, and least of all the Medieval. So it is significant that the sagas, of the ruck of all other branches of literature, are still felt to be '*aktuell*' and truly modern in appeal, notwithstanding the very great difficulty of translation. The magnificent Thule edition of German versions gotten out by the idealistic firm of Eugen Diederichs is reported to have a great spread and to be much read among German youth. The fact is that ever since the sagas have been known to larger circles of Northern Europe they have kept their hold, defying the changes in artistic fashion. It is my prediction that they will stay in favor many a long year yet.

In what consists this perennial charm and freshness? "Undoubtedly it is the art," Koht answers, "the literary craftsmanship which formed them, so simple and yet so finished, holding irresistibly the reader's attention and interest." I should like to add that it is also the inherent interest of the matter, if you will skip the genealogies, told in a prose unsurpassed for the purpose, coupled with an unobtrusive mastery of plastic-dramatic representation and a total lack of affectation of any kind, whether it tell of cotters or of kings.

When we consider the place and the time of this large production of generally high standard—Iceland of the 13th century, a time, that is, when no other European literature had developed any vernacular prose to mention in the same breath, for Boccaccio comes only a century later, one is again filled with amazement; and the inquiring mind is on tiptoes to know from what roots it sprang.

Koht approaches the matter largely from the historical angle. The view now held by most scholars to which he himself has contributed materially, is that the 'historical' sagas as a whole precede the 'family' sagas. From what we know, it was the initiative of King Sverri who in 1185 began dictating the stirring events of his life into the pen of the Iclander, Abbot Karl, and in the vernacular, for the purposes of vindication and propaganda; though even here the examples of Abbot Suger in France and Otto von Freising must be reckoned with. Then came the Sagas of the Bishops, and then only the great 'family' sagas. Finally, when *Heimskringla* had been composed, exhaustively and un-

surpassably bringing Norwegian history down to Snorri's own times, when all the notable incidents in the history of the prominent families of Iceland had been 'written up,' saga writing proper came to an end for sheer dearth of materials. The *fornaldarsagas* were merely an extension of the saga material into the realm of fiction, with the consequent inevitable stereotypization of the heroic ideal or, in other words, the exact denial of what constitutes the peculiar strength of saga style, its realism. But expressed thus, this is too schematic to be true to the facts. We must bear in mind that precisely the *Sverrissaga* has typical fairy story motifs, disguised as history, and that the king himself professed a liking for *lygisögur*; so that some must have existed even then in fixed form!

To be sure, Koht is fully aware also of the other factors stressed by earlier writers to account for the decline of saga writing, such as the increasing poverty and the passing of the old aristocracy, the loss of political independence, the changing orientation of the clergy etc.; but he has no faith in a climatic causation. The theory of Celtic origin or influence in the development of saga technique is now rightly in discredit. Still, Koht might at least have mentioned it, if only to correct and counteract current notions. And certainly, the large Celtic admixture in the population of Iceland ought to have been referred to in explanation of its new mentality.

The best chapter in the book, to my notion, is that on the historical value of the sagas, their proportional contents of reality and reliability, as in general, those portions which deal with critical aspects of saga literature and its development, whereas esthetic and psychologic values are touched on lightly; advisedly perhaps, as Koht may have felt that they have been more than sufficiently dealt with by previous writers. At the same time, the American reader is likely to have heard little of that, has maybe not read a single saga, but as a student of literature may desire a survey and orientation of saga literature. To him, the insight gained by historical scholarship, that *Laxdæla* is late in the development, *Egla* early, may not mean as much as a clear view of the general scope and range of these sagas.

The style of Koht's book is brisk and incisive like that of his Norwegian works, but the English is not as elegant and impeccable as one has been accustomed to expect in the publications of the Foundation—this has nothing to do with the foreign flavor and sentence rhythm. I may add that some of the translations of Old Norse surnames are not above criticism. Thus, *Sdm* should hardly be rendered by "the darky" (!), nor *Hrólfr kraki* by Rolf "big stick" (!). There is considerable inconsistency in the rendition of other names: we find Harold Blacktooth, but Harold Hardradi (sic) where we should expect, either *Harald Harthráði* or else Harold Hardruler; Erling Skjalgsson, but Erling Wry-Neck (*skakki*); etc.

But these are all minor matters in an excellent book which ought to find its place on the shelves of all public libraries that encourage the reading of healthy, high-class literature, and certainly in towns and cities where a Scandinavian element is to be reckoned with.

LEE M. HOLLANDER

University of Texas

THE TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
SOCIETY FOR THE ADVANCEMENT
OF SCANDINAVIAN STUDY

The *Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study* met at the Social Room, Harris Hall, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, on Friday and Saturday, May 6 and 7, 1932.

First Session, Friday, May 6, 2:00 P.M.

The meeting was called to order by the President, Professor Henning Larsen. President W. D. Scott of Northwestern University gave the address of welcome in which he emphasized the importance of Scandinavian studies in the university curriculum.

The reading of papers was then begun:

1. The Chronology of Events in Kielland's Novels—20 minutes. By Professor A. M. Sturtevant, University of Kansas. Discussion by Professors Haugen and Larsen.

2. Norwegian-American Dialect Study—20 minutes. By Professor Einar Haugen, University of Wisconsin. Discussion by Professors Gould, Spargo, Sturtevant and Larsen.

3. The Battle of the Huns and Egilssaga—15 minutes. By Professor Lee M. Hollander, University of Texas. Read by Professor Chester N. Gould.

4. Icelandic Sagas that Await Publication—15 minutes. By Professor Chester N. Gould, University of Chicago. Discussion by Professors Spargo and Sturtevant.

5. The Classification of Scandinavian Ballads—15 minutes. By Professor Archer Taylor, University of Chicago.

The following committees were appointed: (1) Nominating, Professors A. M. Sturtevant, C. N. Gould and J. W. Spargo; (2) Auditing, Professor A. T. Gustafson and Mr. Erik Wahlgren; (3) On Resolutions, Professor Einar Haugen.

At six-thirty the Society met for dinner at the Georgian Hotel. The evening was spent in social intercourse. At the end of the dinner President Larsen requested the Society to rise and with bowed heads to pay reverence to the memory of the departed friend and distinguished member of the Society, Professor O. E. Rølvaag. Also cordial greetings were sent to Professor Julius E. Olson, who was unable to be present.

Second Session, Saturday, May 7, 9:00 A.M.

The business meeting was called to order by the President, Professor Henning Larsen.

The report of the Secretary-Treasurer was accepted together with the report of the Auditing Committee.

The report of the Editor was accepted.

The Committee on Resolutions presented the following:

"The Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study desires to express its sincere gratitude to Northwestern University for the courtesy and hospitality

which the University has shown the Society on this occasion, and especially to President Walter Dill Scott for his address of welcome and to Professor John W. Spargo for his able arrangement and supervision. The Society also wishes to express its grief at the loss which the whole field of Scandinavian in America has sustained in the death of Professor Ole Edvart Rølvaag and Miss Maren Michelet." The resolution was adopted.

It was voted to reduce the salary of the Secretary-Treasurer for the ensuing year from \$500 to \$400.

It was recommended that the Society publish a corpus of *Lygi-sögur* under the editorship of Professor C. N. Gould of Chicago University, with the distinct understanding that the Society undertake no financial obligations.

The following officers were elected:

President, Professor Henning Larsen, University of Iowa.

Vice-President, Professor George T. Flom, University of Illinois.

Secretary-Treasurer, Professor Joseph Alexis, University of Nebraska.

Editor of Scandinavian Studies and Notes, Professor A. M. Sturtevant, University of Kansas.

Members of the Advisory Committee for three years: Professors Adolph B. Benson, Yale University and Lee M. Hollander, University of Texas.

The reading of papers was then resumed:

6. Anders Österling: A Present-Day Swedish Wordsworthian—20 minutes. By Professor Alrik T. Gustafson, Augustana College. Discussion by Professors Sturtevant and Spargo.

7. Eiríkr Magnússon and his Icelandic-Scandinavian Studies—20 minutes. By Dr. Stefán Einarsson, The Johns Hopkins University. Read by Professor Haugen. Discussion by Professors Larsen and Sturtevant.

8. *Paradise Lost* in the Icelandic—20 minutes. By Professor Richard Beck, University of North Dakota. Read by Professor Larsen. Discussion by Professor Gustafson.

Adjournment.

ALBERT MOREY STURTEVANT, *Secretary pro tem.*



The Old Norse Sagas

by PROFESSOR HALVDAN KOHT

THE Foundation announces the publication of THE OLD NORSE SAGAS by Professor Halvdan Koht. This book is based on a series of eight lectures delivered before the Lowell Institute in Boston last winter, while the author was Coolidge Professor of History at Harvard in exchange from the University of Oslo.

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THE INFLUENCE OF THE *TATTLER* AND *SPECTATOR* IN SWEDEN

It is a well known fact that the *Tattler* and *Spectator* set the fashion of periodical literature in England and also that they fundamentally influenced social usages and morals. Addison and Steele were not only dominant arbiters of taste but also educators and moral advisers whose influence on English life was profound. It is interesting to notice that a similar influence was exerted in other foreign countries such as Germany, France, and Sweden. In Germany between the years 1713-32, there were at least thirty-six periodicals of the *Spectator-Tattler* type and as many as five hundred later on. The vogue of the form was almost as great in France. Even in Sweden we can trace a very considerable influence from the *Tattler* and *Spectator*. In the present article we shall attempt to outline the main features of this influence, scholarly completeness of detail in all cases not being possible since a number of the periodicals are not available.

The center of the *Spectator-Tattler* influence in Sweden is Olaf von Dalin, the literary dictator and dominant man of letters of his period (1708-1763). At the age of twenty-four before he took up his main career as a poet, dramatist, and historian he edited a periodical, *Then Svänska Argus*, "The Swedish Argus" (1732), which set the fashion of periodical writing and profoundly influenced Swedish prose as well as the manners and customs of the day. In its influence it became one of the most important writings in modern Swedish.

Before we examine the *Argus* more closely, we should bear in mind that there was at least one periodical which anticipated Dalin's work. In the period June 1730-October 1731 there appeared a periodical by the name *Sedolärande Mercurius*, "The Moral-Teaching Mercury." It was edited by two men, Carl Carlson and Edvard Carlson, and to begin with consisted largely of articles translated from the *Spectator*, the *Tattler*, and the *Patriot*. It was largely ethical in character but later on devoted much space to economic questions, especially the encouragement of Swedish manufactures at all costs. These later articles

were brisker and livelier in style. On the whole the influence of the periodical was not great.

Dalin's epoch-making work came next. As early as his university days he had mentioned his plan to start such a periodical; in this resolve he was also encouraged by his friends, Conrad Ribbing and Ralamb. Also it is likely that the appearance of *Sedolärande Mercurius* spurred him on to carry out his ambition.

Some knowledge of the life and literary career of Dalin is important in interpreting his career as a writer of periodicals. He was born in 1708, the son of a minister serving a charge in the province of Halland. Being early left without a father, he obtained his early education from his stepfather. At the age of thirteen he began his studies at the University of Lund and remained there for six years. He showed much promise and was assisted and encouraged by various professors. In 1727 he came up to Stockholm as a private tutor for several young aristocrats. Here he stayed for the rest of his life, becoming more and more the polished and refined man of the world and courtier and at the same time retaining a close contact with the life of the common people. He served in various secretarial positions, became Librarian of the Royal Library in 1737 and was Secretary of the Swedish Academy from 1753-1756. His travels abroad were extensive. In later years he occupied many important positions at court, as for example the position as tutor of the Crown Prince and the confidant and representative of the Queen. He died in 1763.

There are many interesting similarities between his personality and that of Addison or Steele. He was also the spokesman of the Enlightenment and therefore witty, cultured, wordly-wise as Addison and Steele were. Oddly enough he was, also like Addison, not fluent in speech, though a brilliant writer, and thus somewhat handicapped as a courtier. He was more versatile than Addison or Steele and possibly also more aristocratic, especially later in life.

We can only sketch his career very briefly in this connection, though it was unusually varied and important. He began as a poet with social satires and occasional verse. Then at the age of twenty-four came the periodical, *Then svänska Argus*, in which

we are mainly interested. Later on he composed a great variety of poems such as reflective lyrics, pastorals, prose satires, patriotic epics, religious poems, ballads. He became an important dramatist, writing plays usually in the French manner but sometimes in the manner of Holberg. In later years he wrote a monumental history of Sweden, *Svea Rikes Historia*, 1746-61, and continued his poetic contributions to the end. The general contributions of Dalin to Swedish culture and literature are difficult to estimate: he is the founder of modern Swedish prose; the spokesman of the new ideas of the Enlightenment; a balladist close to the life of the people; a successful dramatist and historian. In many ways he is the founder of modern Swedish literature.

It was this complete contact with the life of the times which made Dalin the Addison or Steele of Sweden. The first number of *Then svänska Argus* appeared in December 1732 from the printing office of Benjamin Schneider, Stockholm. It was published anonymously and this feature proved to be so necessary for the protection of the author that it was retained throughout. The purpose as outlined in the first issues was similar to that of the *Spectator*: "in a humorous way to teach virtue." The first issue bore also on its title page the Latin motto "*Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci*." ("He carried his point who mixed the useful with the pleasant.") Apparently the general plan of the periodical was identical with that of the *Spectator*: to be a witty arbiter or censor of life and morals and to bring education to the ordinary reader.

It is no doubt significant that this periodical was the product of the young manhood of Dalin, a period of greater daring, originality, and contact with life. We can suppose that Dalin did not retain all these qualities so completely in his later days as a courtier.

The source of *Then svänska Argus* is very definitely and completely the *Taller* and *Spectator* of Addison and Steele. Two numbers are based on the works of Jonathan Swift: one, *Erik Lin Götskes Resa* ("The Travels of Erik Lin Götskes") is based on the *Gulliver's Travels* and another very interesting narrative, *Äfventyr om riksens ständers uppkomst* ("The Story of the Ori-

gin of the Nation's Classes") on "The Tale of a Tub." The periodicals correspond in respect to general purpose as well as in many details. Of course, there are various other sources, as for instance Juste Van Effen's periodical, *Le Misanthrope* (1711-1712).

To the title of the periodical, that is *Then svänska Argus*, there hangs a rather interesting tale. In Dalin's MSS in the Royal Library at Stockholm the first number is entitled *Samling af fria tankar från Utopia* ("Collection of Free Thoughts from Utopia"), a title which was manifestly tentative. In the second number the heading is *Frispråkaren*, a literal translation of the English word, *tatler*. The third number is entitled *Den sanne frispråkaren*, ("The True Tatler"). From the corrections of the censor on the margins we learn that the title *Argus* was apparently adopted upon the advice of the censor, after it had been suggested as an alternative by Dalin.

The *Argus* was published weekly from December 1732 to December 1734. Its length of life was apparently about the same as that of the English periodicals. Its vogue was very great; it was read with great interest by a more cultivated class of readers in the capital. The circulation has been estimated as five hundred, a very large circulation for the time and the country. The device of anonymity was retained throughout because of the bitterness stirred up through the onslaughts on contemporary foibles and vices. Many guesses were made as to the identity of the author; for example a good many thought that the name *Argus* was an acrostic made up of the names of five of the most skillful writers of the time. Even later many found it difficult to believe that Dalin had been the sole author; he was regarded as the tool of a whole party. At any rate when the periodical was discontinued in 1734 a very real regret was felt in many quarters. The reason for the cessation of the periodical is not hard to find; Dalin had apparently become tired of writing a weekly paper all by himself. Before that time a resolution had been passed in the Riksdag to pay the author something when his identity became known.

The similarities to the *Spectator* are very numerous. As before indicated, they consist not only in the general plan but in

various details. Both often have Latin quotations used as introductions, very similar characters, letters from subscribers with appropriate answers. There is the same attack on contemporary foibles and weaknesses through wit and satire. Like Addison and Steele, Dalin has a good many illustrative anecdotes to inculcate various truths and lessons. He also tries to win the favor of the ladies and serve as their adviser in manners and morals by exposing their vanities. There is possibly a more extensive use of dialogue based often on the conversation of menials.

It might be interesting to examine somewhat more closely one of these similarities, the use of characters. Dalin retains Addison's device of a club, meeting several times a week to discuss interesting questions of the day. (No. 2 of the *Argus* and No. 2 of the *Spectator*.) The members of this club consist of a lawyer, a courtier, a soldier, a scholar, a trader. They have some traits like the worthy members of the *Spectator* club and represent about the same professions. Like Honeycomb, the courtier is a specialist in women's affairs; the soldier, like Captain Sentry, is backward and reticent; the trader, like Addison's merchant, is interested in home trade; the scholar is a witty study of Dalin himself; but of course many of their traits are different from those of the *Spectator* characters.

Dalin also makes several satirical studies of the "*petit maître*," the dude and the social fop of the day. He is a doll-like creature who lives only for dress and to enjoy himself in gaming, conducting amours, and in visiting coffee houses. He flirts in church and has a positive aversion to work. This character, particularly, seems to be taken directly from Steele and Addison; he seems a truer product of London rather than Stockholm of this time. Dalin apparently found it difficult to keep his characters alive and moving and soon dismissed them by sending them away on trips. At the end of the first year of the periodical they were dropped entirely.

The style of Dalin has many of the excellences and graces that distinguish the English style of Addison and Steele. It is also clear, nicely turned, simple yet elegant, witty, sparkling, and humorous. Through the intuition of genius it seems, Dalin caught the spirit of the style of Addison and Steele and thus became the founder of modern Swedish prose.

Still it must be carefully noted that Dalin is not a slavish imitator of Addison and Steele even though he adopts the details used by his mentors. He brings over the spirit of his originals and applies this to Swedish conditions; he is never simply the translator or adapter of Addison and Steele. The foibles he attacks are characteristically Swedish, as for instance the sale of offices in official circles, the fondness for titles, the pedantry of the learned, the overemphasis on religion. Dalin has more educational essays than Addison and Steele; he is often striving to set forth the need of applied, practical learning.

As to religious views, Dalin is liberal but reverent, as was the case with Addison and Steele; he often attacks various superstitions. The *Argus* has very seldom any political comments; it does not seem to be the organ of a political party. At this time international affairs could not be discussed in periodicals. The references to internal affairs are very general; an attempt, however, is made to stimulate the development of Swedish manufactures.

The *Argus* stirred up more bitterness and opposition than its English prototypes. Several prominent men thought that they were being satirized. Possibly without the device of anonymity Dalin would not have been able to continue the publication. Great exception was taken to the satire on various conditions in church and state. As a consequence about four numbers of the *Argus* at various times were suppressed by the censor. Still on the whole, Dalin was befriended by the censor, Rosenadler, who seems to have had a predilection for the periodical; in one case the censor supplied a number to take the place of one which he had suppressed.

The influence of the *Argus* is hard to estimate; in many ways it is analogous to that of the *Spectator* and *Tatler* in England. It brought education down to the middle classes by means of periodicals written in a lively varied style. It was the refiner of manners and morals, the arbiter elegantiarum in social life. It began a new development in Swedish prose, possibly in a more unique and complete way than the *Spectator* in England.

Many attempts were made to imitate the *Argus* but not any of them were very successful. It is easy to ape genius but not to

imitate it, that is, to catch its life and spirit. The periodicals after Dalin's were usually too severely ethical to be effective; they were lacking in wit, sparkle, and vitality and reached only a small circle of readers. We will mention those which we have been able to trace:

1735—*Skuggan af den döde Argus* ("The Shadow of the Dead Argus") which was edited by Olof Gyllenborg. It was severely ethical and not successful. One critic said of it, "It was blind in 99 eyes and had a sty in the 100th eye."

1730—*Oskylldig måhlroo* ("Innocent Tabletalk") edited by Johan Browallius. This was a weekly periodical of the *Spectator* type with articles on morals and philosophy and also politics. It broke down at the start.

1734—*Filosofisk Mercurius* ("The Philosophic Mercury") by Johan Browallius was similar to the periodical above but more humorous and satirical. It was more successful.

1735—*Svenska patrioten* ("The Swedish Patriot") by Johan Browallius obtained its name apparently from the English periodical. It was, like the other periodicals, edited by Johan Browallius, ethical in character with attempts at humor and satire.

1740—A Danish translation of Dalin's *Argus* issued.

1738—*Det svenska nitet* ("The Swedish Zeal") was edited by Olof Celsius and Anders Hesselius, as young men, in imitation of *Argus*. For a time a controversy was conducted in this periodical in reference to poets of the preceding generation.

1739—*Den svenska sanningen* ("The Swedish Truth") edited by Anders Hesselius was similar to the previous periodical.

These moral-ethical periodicals had lost their vogue about 1735. Still several other periodicals of the *Spectator* type appeared after this date, for instance:

1767—*Den nya svenska Argus* ("The New Swedish Argus") edited by Odel.

1768—*Then förnuftige fritänkaren* ("The Sensible Freethinker") edited by J. Fr. Kryger; contained articles in the manner of Dalin and some independent political utterances.

Thus we have traced the main outlines of the influence of Addison and Steele in Sweden. This influence comes to a head

mainly in Dalin's *Argus* and in that case is a most significant influence on Swedish life and culture. Dalin's influence must have been very powerful to call up so many followers even though they did not have his ability. There were at least eight periodicals which attempted the manner of Dalin. They carried on the tradition until it was taken over by the later reviews. England has borrowed much from Italy and France and other countries in building up its culture but in the case of Addison and Steele, as interpreted by the genius of Dalin, it has contributed greatly to Swedish culture and Swedish prose.

Swedish Periodicals of the Tatler-Spectator Type

1. *Sedolärande Mercurius* ("The moral-teaching Mercury"), June 1730–October 1731, edited by Carl Carlson and Edward Carlson.
2. *Then svenska Argus* ("The Swedish Argus"), December 1732–December 1734, anonymous weekly, edited by Olaf von Dalin.
3. *Oskyldig måhlroo* ("Innocent Table-Talk"), weekly, edited by Johan Browallius, soon discontinued, 1730.
4. *Filosofisk Mercurius* ("The Philosophic Mercury") edited by Johan Browallius, 1734.
5. *Svenska patrioten* ("The Swedish Patriot") edited by Johan Browallius, date 1735.
6. *Skuggan af den döde Argus* ("The Shadow of the Dead Argus") edited by Olof Gyllenborg, 1735.
7. A Danish translation of Dalin's *Argus*, issued 1740.
8. *Det svenska nitet* ("The Swedish Zeal") edited by Olof Celsius and Anders Hesselius, 1738.
9. *Den svenska sanningen* ("The Swedish Truth") edited by Anders Hesselius, 1739.
10. *Den nya svenska Argus* ("The New Swedish Argus") edited by Odel, 1767.
11. *Den förnuftige fritänkaren* ("The Sensible Freethinker") edited by J. Fr. Kryger, 1768.

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REVIEWS

Henrik Ibsen, Oeuvres Complètes, traduites par P. G. la Chesnais, Librairie Plon, Paris.

Ibsen has not received the attention in France that he has been accorded in Germany, England, or America. But now that the first complete translation of the dramatist is appearing in France about three decades after the *sämmlische Werke* and about two decades after the *Collected Works*, it is very gratifying to find that it has been done so completely and so excellently. It should be noted that the first volume originally appeared in 1914, but at this point the War delayed the undertaking. Of the sixteen large volumes containing all of Ibsen's plays, poems, sketches, speeches, seemingly everything he wrote except the letters, the first two are now off the press, covering the periods of Grimstad (1847-1850) and of the first Christiania sojourn (1850-1851).

In addition to giving France for the first time a complete Ibsen, M. la Chesnais has written, or is writing, what must be considered a new biography. In the first volume 131 pages are devoted to a general introduction giving the setting out of which the work of Ibsen arose; 86 further pages describe Ibsen's life up to the publication of *Catilina*; and in the second volume 158 pages deal with the author, as student, journalist, and poet in Christiania up to the point where Ole Bull called him to Bergen. M. la Chesnais met Ibsen in 1894 and has been devoting himself to a most searching study of Ibsen and Ibseniana ever since. Thanks to these researches in Norway the introductions and the notes cast new light on numerous hitherto obscure points in Ibsen's life, of which I shall select one for discussion.

M. la Chesnais has investigated rather closely Ibsen's relation to the law student Theodor Abildgaard who in 1851 was associated with the labor leader Marcus Thrane in organizing the workmen of Christiania and who was then arrested and sentenced to four years hard labor for his activities. Henrik Jaeger in his biography published in 1888 spoke very slightly of this movement and of Ibsen's interest in it; but it appears now that not only did Ibsen write for the workers' journal, but he took part in the meetings of the council, to which he would not have been admitted if the workers had not felt that he sympathized with their ideas. Moreover, Ibsen together with Abildgaard conducted a school for workingmen on Sundays the aim of which was the spread of popular culture. During Abildgaard's absence from Christiania in 1850 there took place a lively correspondence between the two which was of a sufficiently radical nature to be considered "compromising" for Ibsen in case it had fallen into the hands of the police at the time of their raid, July 7, 1851; in short, Ibsen was Abildgaard's political confidant in the earlier part of 1851 when they saw each other practically every day. The influence of this friendship is found in *The Pillars of Society* where in the speeches of Aune, Ibsen shows a deep sympathy for the workers. M. la Chesnais reports (II, 120) as a personal communication from Colonel Abildgaard, a son of Ibsen's friend, that the dramatist, on seeing

Abildgaard again in Christiania in 1885 said, "It was of you that I thought in *The Pillars of Society* when I wrote the words, 'The spirit of truth, the spirit of freedom—these are the pillars of society'!"

The translations, wherever I have checked them, I find that M. la Chesnais has done with the same scholarliness and understanding as the biography and the editing. To a reader used to his Ibsen in Norwegian, German, or English, the poems sound quite different in French, as the following example may serve to illustrate, the last verse of *The Miner*:

Hammerslag paa Hammerslag
Indtil Livets sidste Dag.
Ingen Morgenstraale skinner,
Ingen Haabets Sol oprinder.

Hammer blow on hammer blow,
Till the lamp of life burns low:
Not a ray of hope's forewarning,
Not a glimmer of the morning.

Coup sur coup, ainsi va-t-il
puis s'affaïsse faible et las.
Nul rayon n'annonce une aube,
Nul soleil de clarté ne se lève.

Though Ibsen's works in French dress necessarily seem strange to the American reader, yet he can find in them to some extent also an interpretation, especially since they are accompanied by more copious notes than any other translation of Ibsen furnishes. M. la Chesnais has proved himself an Ibsen scholar of great profundity, and every library at all interested in the Norwegian dramatist ought to acquire these volumes.

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The Cartography of Iceland (Islandica, Vol. XXI). By Halldór Hermannsson. Issued by Cornell University Library, Ithaca, N. Y., 1931. Pp. 81 and twenty-six plates.

On November 11 last year occurred the centenary of that great benefactor of Iceland, Professor Willard Fiske. Dr. Halldór Hermannsson has very appropriately dedicated this, the twenty-first volume of his *Islandica* to the memory of Fiske; for the most lasting expression of the latter's life-long devotion to Iceland is the Fiske Icelandic Collection at Cornell, a noble memorial which will continue to benefit future generations.

The Cartography of Iceland takes its place as a significant volume in the valuable *Islandica* series since it is in no small degree a pioneer work; that is particularly true of the first half of the book. This (pp. 1-42) is devoted to a discussion of the appearance of Iceland on the portolan charts of the late Middle Ages and "other medieval maps which are more or less dependent upon

them." Even if the author has worked with limited material—and he offers his results with due reservations—he has brought together much information which is of interest to geographers and historians alike, and to the general reader concerned about the history and culture of Iceland. In view of Christopher Columbus' alleged visit to Iceland, the description of the mappemonde by Juan de la Cosa, owner and pilot of the former's flagship, *Santa Maria*, (p. 17) is of special interest; but Hermannsson concludes that, if the representation on said map of the northern regions, including Iceland, was contributed by Columbus, "it can scarcely be said that his information was very important." The maps of the Dieppe school (from the first half of the sixteenth century) show considerable advancement in the cartographical knowledge of Iceland, and these our author considers in some detail. The most important event in the geographical history of Iceland during the sixteenth century was, however, the making and publication of the map by Bishop Guðbrandur Thorláksson, "Iceland's first cartographer," as he has been justly called. "The appearance of that map," writes Hermannsson, "marks a new epoch in the cartography of Iceland, and it is the map which in one form or another is represented in atlases from its first appearance in 1585 down to the middle of the eighteenth century." The cartographical work of Bishop Guðbrandur is treated in detail in Hermannsson's *Two Cartographers* (*Islandica*, xvii, 1926); hence it receives but a passing reference in the volume under review.

The second half of *The Cartography of Iceland* (pp. 43-81) describes maps of Iceland belonging to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Here Hermannsson has drawn considerably on Professor Þorvaldur Thoroddsen's important work: *Landfræðissaga Íslands* (Reykjavík and Kaupmannahöfn, 1892-1904); but he has also added much material from other sources and he is independent in his conclusions. His account of these later centuries is clear, authentic, and very sympathetic. A case in point is his treatment of Thomas Knopf's map-making (pp. 47-52). Deservedly, Hermannsson accords to Björn Gunnlaugsson, "the greatest cartographer of his native land," the place of honor, and discusses his far-reaching labors at some length. He also notes the important contribution made by Dr. Þorvaldur Thoroddsen to the history of Icelandic cartography and topography. In conclusion the author briefly refers to the significant cartographical work which is being carried on in Iceland under the supervision of the Danish General Staff. This work was begun in 1902 and is still in process.

One of the difficulties facing the author of a study like the one under review is the identification of Icelandic placenames on the various old maps, where they frequently appear in a very mutilated form. Hermannsson has on the whole succeeded very well in this respect. There are, however, a few placenames on which I wish to comment; these are from the eastern part of Iceland, where I am most familiar with the geographical conditions, and are included in the interesting *Sailing Directions* (p. 42). *Rose Bay* probably refers to *Hjeraðsflói*. *Redcliffe* perhaps stands for *Gerpir*, although it could just as well apply to *Dalatangi* which is rich in colorful rhyolite. *Barðsnes* (also called *Barðsneshorn*) is likewise striking in color. It may further be mentioned that in Viðfjörður

there are mountain slopes actually named *Rauðuhjörg*. (Cf. Þorvaldur Thoroddsen: *Lýsing Islands*, Kaupmannahöfn, 1911, Vol. II, p. 263). *Sillie* doubtless refers to *Seley* and also to *Reyðarfjörður*. *Rocke Bay* I take to mean *Fáskrúðsfjörður*, the *Rocke* standing for *Skrúðurinn*. *Prie Bay* would then be *Breiðdalsvík*. But as another reviewer is considering the identification of these places in a separate article I shall not dwell on it further.

All told this latest volume of the *Islandica* is highly interesting, readable though scholarly. Its value is much enhanced by the excellent portrait of Björn Gunnlaugsson and by good reproductions of many of the maps referred to. The book is well printed and attractive in its general make-up.

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MARION CRAWFORD'S *Dr. CLAUDIUS*

The extremely versatile, successful and cosmopolitan American writer, Francis Marion Crawford (1854-1909) published his second novel, *Dr. Claudius*, in 1883. It was "less romantic" than its predecessor, *Mr. Isaacs*, but proved very popular, being reprinted at least nine times during the author's own lifetime, and being based to some extent on his own observations and experiences. It was localized, in part, in Heidelberg, where Crawford had attended lectures during his sojourn in Germany, 1874-1876, and in its chief characters could be discerned many traits copied from his uncle, Samuel Ward—Julia Ward Howe was Crawford's maternal aunt—and himself. His uncle, a wit, raconteur, linguist, traveler, who possessed a German Ph.D., is reflected both in "Uncle Horace Bellingham" in the novel and in the hero, Dr. Claudius. The latter was a scholar, an accomplished linguist, traveler, and, above all, a gentleman. So was Crawford himself. The hero has a German doctorate and is a Privat-Docent at Heidelberg, the university which the novelist knew so well. Some of the action takes place on a yacht during an ocean voyage, and some in New York and Newport.

What interests us here, however, is the fact that Dr. Claudius is a Scandinavian, a Swede. In view of the fact that most of Crawford's principal heroes and heroines are Italians—he himself was born in Tuscany—and only occasionally Americans, this may not be wholly without significance. The author had traveled and labored in many lands, from India to the United States, and had met people of all nationalities. In the year of his death he was called the "most cosmopolitan of all contemporary writers,"¹ an independent whose very outlook on life was cosmopolitan. He had studied Sanskrit at Harvard and in course of time mastered seventeen languages, including not only Russian and Turkish and some Oriental dialects but the Scandinavian.

¹ Article on "Marion Crawford" by Frederic Taber Cooper in the *Forum* for May, 1909.

He reminds us in this particular of men (all interested in Scandinavian) like George P. Marsh, James Gates Percival, and Bayard Taylor. During his stay in England, 1870-1874, he matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and "pursued courses in German, Swedish, and Spanish." Some Swedish words are introduced ad verbatim into *Dr. Claudius*. It is this novelist, with an extraordinarily broad acquaintance with all types of humanity in several countries, who chose a Scandinavian as the hero of a novel into which his own family resemblances might be introduced, either through the hero himself or those associated with him. So the work is not a little autobiographical. Not that Crawford intended any definite propaganda in this plan, for he did not believe that propaganda of any sort was the proper province of a novel; but, on the other hand, we may well ask why he did not, and more naturally, make the hero a German, Frenchman, Spaniard, or American, especially the first, when so much of the action is localized on German territory.

The writer ventures the opinion that this was not all pure accident. Either he had personally met, in Germany or elsewhere, an attractive Swede whose characteristics suggested those of Dr. Claudius—and the learned, gentile Scandinavian is certainly a delightful, idealized (maybe) and intellectual person—or he had read so much about certain traditional Scandinavian qualities that he decided to create a modern character who embodied those qualities. And then some of the Ward or Crawford family traits could safely be transferred to him. Crawford himself is generally described as being athletic, handsome, of commanding physique, with polished manners and a melodious voice. These are also the attributes of our hero. Then when we remember that the author, for recreation, became eventually a licensed captain and master mariner we can see why he early might have identified himself with a Viking descendant. At all events, these are some of the more obvious external facts.

It has been maintained that Crawford never meant to teach any morals or "shed any light upon the meaning of life" in his novels. Perhaps not. But while they were chiefly to be considered as "luxuries" he did intend withal that they should appeal to

the *intellect*. Dr. Claudius does more than that, and may therefore be regarded as an exception to the rule, if the alleged rule actually holds good. Intentionally or unintentionally Crawford portrayed in Dr. Claudius—the Latin name is of course quite à propos for a Swedish scholar—a hero with an exceptionally simple, wholesome, and definite philosophy of life. Whether the novelist meant to or not, his book in fact teaches common horse sense, and more particularly a sense of relative values. This meant much fifty years ago and it means infinitely more to-day. The Swedish doctor of philosophy, living in an attic room in Heidelberg, has at the beginning of the novel, quite in the manner of conventional narratives, inherited a million and a half dollars from a deceased uncle, “Mr. Gustavus Lindstrand,” of New York. Claudius upon reading the official news in a letter from his uncle’s attorneys experiences “no sensation of pleasure,” no emotion, and after wondering and meditating a little about what to do with the money he calmly goes to sleep.

It was not that he was foolish enough to despise money, or even pretend to, as some people do. He would have felt keenly the loss of his own little store, and would have hated to work for money instead of working for work’s sake. But he had enough, and had always had enough, for his small wants. He loved beautiful things intensely, but he had no desire to possess them; it was enough that he might see them, and carry away the remembrance. He loved books, but he cared not a jot for rare editions, so long as there were cheap ones published in Leipzig. (Chap. I.)

Maybe such a hero would to-day be considered quite beyond the possible, even in the scholarly world, for the doctor had these convictions before he inherited his fortune; but his creation is something of an achievement all the same, and his philosophy—enjoyment of beauty without the thought of possession, and contentment with one’s lot—is an old, much-preached ideal which here takes on a new and more beautiful form. We have known a few Scandinavians, and others, with just such ideas, though the philosophy should be that of any true scholar. But let us go more into personal detail.

Crawford’s hero had “flaxen hair, long and tangled,” growing “thick on the massive head,” with broad, flat and square

shoulders. He read Greek, Latin, French, German, and English, and was a "brilliant" mathematician by profession. He burned the midnight oil frequently, and collected such books about him as were of special interest to him. He lived three flights up, unmarried. "He was a credit to the University [of Heidelberg], where first-rate men are scarce." "Dr. Claudius was a Swede by birth and early education—full of talent, independent and young," who cared "little for the national enmities of Scandinavians and Germans, and, like all foreigners who behave sensibly, he was received with open arms by the enthusiastic students, who looked upon him as a sort of typical Goth, the prototype of the Teutonic races." He could fence and drink, had a yellow beard, and, to be exact, was thirty years old. He knew Kant, Spinoza and Hegel. "He owed no man anything." He meditated that he might travel with all the American money that had come to him, "but he preferred to travel with a view of seeing things, rather than of reaching places. He would rather walk most of the way."

He had been in Paris and Vienna and Rome for a few weeks, and, being of a good family in the North, had received introductions through the diplomatic representatives of his country. His striking personality had always attracted attention, and he might have gone everywhere had he chosen. But he had only cared enough for society and its life to wish to see it now and then, and he fancied that he understood it at a glance—that it was all a sham and a glamor and vanity of vanities. (Chap. I.)

So he lived alone, fetched his own supper of wine, pretzels, and smoked sausages, and whenever he went out at night, if but for a few minutes, turned down his lamp, from force of habit, to save oil. For vacation he preferred "a knapsack and a thick stick and a few guldens in his pocket," avoiding in his tramps all fashionable showplaces.

In reality Dr. Claudius is in spirit a typical Swedish aristocrat, and possesses in addition a "tough" physical nature which "minded neither heat nor cold." He is fond of animals, is courteous, well-bred, bold, and unembarrassed, especially when he meets "the lady of the parasol." Like most Northerners he is slow to fall in love, but cherishes a "great reverence of woman

and for woman's love." The author points out, however, that Dr. Claudius differed from such Northerners as Englishmen, who "are rarely heroes except in their novels," and who generally enter a love relation through a "little bypath of caution, a postern gate of mercantile foresight." In the interim he remained naïvely unconscious that a herculean Scandinavian with faultless manners and a mind of his own would make a veritable lion in society.

But this is sensed by his American opposite, Mr. Silas Barker, a practical business man who knows all about stock tickers and cannot understand why anyone with a fortune should want to remain a university professor. Crawford is at his best when contrasting the "superficial and inartistic" New Yorker with this Swedish eccentricity. Barker suggests that Claudius buy the Heidelberg Castle and turn it into a hotel, a suggestion which is not a whit more silly or exaggerated than some that we have experienced at first hand. Here "I should think you would be bored to death," the puzzled American exclaims. "*Ennui*, in the ordinary sense, does not exist for a man where life is devoted to study," answers the curious Swede. But Barker is no fool in the more material world and so strikes up a kind of selfish friendship with his acquaintance, who in turn accepts the external guidance of a man of society and business. The American, with a showman's instinct, hopes, like Barnum of yore when he discovered Jenny Lind, to capture and exhibit this new, rich, and talented marvel in real social circles, exhibit him whom he had unearthed in a garret in Heidelberg. What a find! Barker would transport him to America where he would be sure to create a sensation.

But it was a sensation quite different from what the American had anticipated, and it came long before the party reached America. Having had, under Barker's guidance and suggestion, his exterior thoroughly transformed for parlor purposes, he captures everything in his way. His large white hands, long yellow beard and hair, and his appearance like that of Niemann in *Lohengrin* soon captivated the lady whose parasol he had rescued from the rocks beneath the Heidelberg Castle and who in

a wholly conventional way turns out to be a widowed, American-born Russian countess. The latter's lady companion wonders at first whether a rich savant living in an attic can be in his right mind, but after due introductions and conversations there is no longer any doubt or fear on that score.

Interesting to the writer, who has long been drawn to the sensible character of Dr. Claudius, is the latter's attitude toward things of relatively small importance—a part of his keen sense of relative values. He philosophically suffers his hair to be cut—for social purposes—for “it will soon grow again,” and if a friend thinks it best, why let it be cut, it is of no great consequence either way. But the Scandinavian hero is perfectly at home in a drawing room, when he has to be there, and when he expatiates on woman's mission in the world or relates his dreams of the “glory of life and of mind-power, of the accomplishment of the greatest good with greatest number,” men and women listened and were forcibly drawn toward the narrator. Somehow there was the spirit of the optimist and conqueror about him. “I am sure your forefathers must have been Vikings,” said Countess Margaret in answer to a bold, world-embracing sally on Claudius's part.

The novelist returns to the physical description of his hero again and again; he is much devoted to him, or at least makes the reader believe that he is. To behold Claudius in evening dress is an event. He is tall, of course, with blue eyes, pale, aquiline features, and massive proportions of frame. This coupled with culture and refinement makes him an ideal object of admiration. Besides, he is entirely human; he can swear if occasion demands it, and he smokes cigarettes. In love-making, however, the “big Swede,” as he is once called, has had no experience.

But Dr. Claudius was an “intellectual seeker after an outward and visible expression of an inward and spiritual truth which he felt must exist, though he knew he might spend a lifetime in the preliminary steps towards its attainment.” He detested the mercenary motives in marriage, but entertained no prejudices against marriage as a whole, and was quite ready to

set out for America (like Fredrika Bremer),—to indicate one minor, educational reason for his journey—to study woman's rights on the Western Continent.² His standards were high, naturally, but soon Countess Margaret became to his mind and heart the "Rune Wife and prophetess as well as divinity." And when he *did* fall in love it was a severe, all-absorbing case.

Dr. Claudius, incidentally, is not the only Swede in the story. "Swedes are amphibious," Barker once asserted, who take to water like ducks; so the captain on the Duke's yacht which carries our chief characters to America is Swedish, Captain Sturleson,³ and many of the crew are Swedes. They are "the best sailors," it is explained. So we have a few Swedish words introduced, correctly, and it "amused the Countess [who is on board of course] to hear his [Dr. Claudius's] occasional snatches of the clean-cut Northern tongue that sounded like English, but was yet so different."

Meanwhile the hero, who had lived so little and thought so much, continued to philosophize about marriage and the discord "between the universal law and the individual fact." But in certain essential respects he made great progress. He could not or would not play cards, but despite his stature and size he could climb the tallest mast of the sailing vessel, and unexpectedly thereby won a good wager against Barker, who is worsted in every encounter with his human discovery from the garret in Heidelberg. The Duke wonders, however, where such an individual as Dr. Claudius got his excellent manners. Of course there were good people in Sweden, but all had titles and Dr. Claudius had no title. He was "not in the least like a respectable Swedish burgher." He was vain, but it was not an offensive, personal vanity; it was a form of pride. Whence did it come?

When the time arrives, the Northman demonstrates that he

² The discussions on this topic would lead one to suspect that Marion Crawford knew of Fredrika Bremer's visit to America and her reasons for the journey as set forth in her *Homes of the New World*.

³ Icelanders may object to this name for a Swede, but Marion Crawford, who made no fine national distinctions between the various proper names in Scandinavia, intended no offence, we may be sure.

can act as well as think. The financial affairs of the Countess are in a bad way, and she is in danger of having her personal fortune confiscated in Russia. Claudius acts immediately. Fortified with passports, letters of introduction, and his own expansive knowledge of European affairs, the modest Privat-Docent hastily, quietly, and more or less secretly slips out of New York for St. Petersburg. Through his own courage, persistency, and diplomacy he personally persuades the Czar of all the Russias to withdraw the threatened calamity against his friend, who incidentally knows nothing of Claudius's real mission in Europe. Of course he is successful (for this is after all an American novel), to the murdering discomfiture of the scheming, traitorous Mr. Barker, who during the Swedish rival's absence has in sheer desperation attempted to win over the cultured, anxious Countess through the medium so naturally employed by Claudius, namely books and literary, philosophical discussions. The plot failed obviously for reasons more profound than the blatant selfishness and insincerity on Barker's part. While Dr. Claudius was in Europe, too, his paternal and titled uncle conveniently died, childless, and the erstwhile teacher, his only heir, is no more a privat-docent, as such. Even "Dr. Claudius" disappears, as such, though not without regret on the part of the holder of the name. Henceforth he must uphold the noble name of his family and the title bequeathed to him by his uncle. He had, after all, from the very beginning been an aristocrat, though with democratic tendencies. Returning to America, all ends conventionally. Claudius's wealth, all honestly acquired, is to be wisely spent, and his marriage to the Countess Margaret is set for the following Christmas Day.

This is the ending of a typical American tale, we may say—characteristically happy. True, the work is not heavy or tragic, but it is never trivial. Its construction is good, its tone elevated, the plot interesting and in many respects original, the dialogue is masterly, the characters well drawn, and the discussions sufficiently weighty to provide some food for thought. Most compelling of all in this high-type popular novel is the character of the serious, dignified Swede of half a century ago, Dr. Claudius.

Perhaps the portrait is a bit flattering, but Marion Crawford succeeded, it seems to us, in introducing into his hero not a few genuinely Swedish qualities.⁴

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⁴ In a later novel *Stradella* (1908), localized in Italy during the seventeenth century, Crawford introduced the abdicated Queen Christina of Sweden, who during her voluntary or involuntary exile, especially in Rome, continued to act as a royal patroness of arts and letters. His account of her adventures is not very favorable, as the writer remembers it, but it is essentially just, accurate. Crawford was not only a novelist but a critic and historian, and this fact, incidentally, should be kept in mind when judging his creations of heroes and heroines. It gives *Dr. Claudius*, for instance, greater value as a picture of national character.

REVIEWS

Henrik Ibsen, Œuvres Complètes, traduit par P. G. La Chesnais, Librairie Plon, Paris, Vol. III; pp. 638. 40 francs.

The third volume of La Chesnais has just appeared and contains half of the works of the Bergen period. In addition there is a full biographical account (pp. 1-101) covering the poet's life from October, 1851, to August, 1857. Here M. La Chesnais describes Ibsen's rather drab days in Bergen together with his furlough in Copenhagen and Dresden. In the course of this narrative Ole Bull, J. L. Heiberg, Rikke Holst, Magdalene Thoresen, and Susannah Ibsen are also amply sketched in their relation to Ibsen. A number of valuable appendices present lists of all plays staged in Bergen while Ibsen was director of the theatre there, as well as of those staged in Copenhagen and Dresden while the dramatist visited these cities. M. La Chesnais who in 1928 published in *La Revue de la littérature comparée* an article *Les maîtres d'Ibsen au théâtre* stresses the strong technical influence of Scribe and Ibsen's ignorance of the French classical and Romantic drama; Ibsen had a fairly good knowledge of Shakespeare, the German, the Scandinavian, and the modern French drama.

In addition to a number of hitherto unpublished poems this volume contains also a translation of a version of the folksong of little Kersti which Ibsen used in *St. John's Night*. In the text as well as in the notes the editor makes full use of the latest material, printing among other things also Ibsen's proposal in verse to Rikke Holst which this lady presented to the library of Oslo University with the request that it be published only after her death—she died, I believe, in 1926. The work is done throughout with painstaking exactness and with excellent critical apparatus. I have noticed only one slip (p. 21)—Ole Bull's colony was in Pennsylvania, not in Wisconsin.

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Scandinavian Literature from Brandes to Our Day. By H. G. Topsøe-Jensen. Translated from the Danish by Isaac Anderson. New York: The American-Scandinavian Foundation and W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1929. ix+275 pp.

This useful volume deserves more attention than it has received in our scholarly publications. It meets a distinct need, as it is the only extensive survey, in book form, of modern Scandinavian literature available in English. Ad-

mitedly, it is no small task to attempt an account and an appraisal of the literatures of Norway, Denmark, and Sweden from 1870 to our day in less than three hundred pages. The author fully realizes the difficulties involved in such an undertaking and the resulting shortcomings, as set forth in his preface: "Naturally enough, in a brief presentation which aims to embrace half a century of the rich literature of three countries, one must be content with indicating the main trends and with characterizing the chief writers, rather than to attempt to give a complete picture of the literary development. Furthermore, the chief emphasis must be placed upon the time previous to the World War. The impress of the literature of the last decade is as yet far from clear enough to make it possible to set forth objective viewpoints concerning this period." Further, the author admits with regret that he has found it necessary "to ignore the literature of Finland and Iceland, although both these countries have made important contributions." That is certainly no exaggeration, and this reviewer wholeheartedly shares the author's regret over the ignoring of the literatures in question.

Within the limitations imposed upon him, how has Mr. Topsøe-Jensen succeeded? Undeniably, he has brought together, in his restricted space, much salient and valuable information. From the study of his book the reader gets a clear, if not a minute, picture of the leading Norwegian, Danish and Swedish writers and of the main literary trends in Norway, Denmark and Sweden during the last sixty years. Biographical and critical comments are happily interwoven, and frequently the author's interpretation is both succinct and penetrating. Moreover, as is proper for a book which may be termed popular-scholarly, the writer is never obscure, a great merit indeed.

The "Introductory Survey," which was written specially for the American edition of the book, though very sketchy, furnishes a needed background. The arrangement of the rest of the volume is as follows: authors are grouped more or less chronologically within certain periods according to literary tendencies, and in turn listed by nationalities within each group. This is probably as effective an arrangement as any. Each period is prefaced by a brief general statement, very much in place. In a book of this nature the proportionate space devoted to the respective writers, the author's opinion and estimate of them, as well as the inclusion of certain writers and the omission of others are, of course, matters open to disagreements. To illustrate: It appears indeed strange to this reviewer that Camilla Collett, assuredly a pioneer among Norwegian novelists, is not even mentioned in this volume. A mention of her would certainly not have been out of place in the Introductory Survey. Her novel *Amtmandens datter* might with some justification be called "the first modern Norwegian novel," a distinction which our author confers on Kielland's *Garman & Worse*. The "Conclusion" (pp. 261-266) very rapidly surveys the post-war writers of the three countries considered. Doubtless the author is right in maintaining that this literature is too near to us for an unprejudiced, objective appraisal.

A valuable feature of the book is the "Selected List of Scandinavian Books in English Translation," although it might have been somewhat more complete.

There are also a good author-index and fine portraits of many of the leading writers included. Like the other volumes in the *Scandinavian Classics* this, the thirty-second, is well printed and neatly bound.

Finally, let it be said that the translator, Mr. Isaac Anderson, has done his work well. All things considered *Scandinavian Literature from Brandes to Our Day* is both an informative and a readable book, useful alike for the general reader and as a textbook for the undergraduate student in Scandinavian literature.

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PEHR KALM'S WRITINGS ON AMERICA

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REVIEW

Pehr Kalm was not the first Swede of course to write about the American continent and its temporary or permanent settlers. For example, just a century before the first part of his *En Resa til Norra America* made its appearance (1753), i.e., in 1653, Johan Paulinus (Grefve Lillienstedt) published in Uppsala a brief defense tract on a governor of New Sweden: *Nobilissimo et spectatae virtutis viro Johanni Claudii Risingh, cum in Sveciam Novi orbis abiret sic Epistola vindicebat*. In 1675, at Wisingsborg, Johann Kankel printed a publication of forty-two pages entitled *Kort Berättelse om West Indien eller America, som elliest Kallas Nya Werlden*. Per Lindeström's *Geographia Americae* had been completed, though not published,¹ by 1691; Johan Campanius's "Vocabularium Barbaro—Virgineorum" had appeared at Royal expense together with a translation of Luther's Catechism into the Lenape dialect in 1696; *Kort Beskrifning om Provincien Nya Sverige uti America* by Thomas Campanius Holm had followed in 1702; Johan Danielson Swedberg's *Dissertatio gradualis de Svionum in America colonia* appeared in 1709; and Andreas Hesselius published in Norrköping his *Kort Berättelse om Then Swenska Kyrkios närwarande Tilstånd in America* in 1725. Two years later Jesper Svedberg's "Svecia Nova seu America Illuminata" was ready in manuscript, and of this an abbreviated form, known as *America Illuminata*, appeared at Skara in 1732. In the interim Tobias Björk's . . . *Dissertatio gradualis de plantatione ecclesiae Suecanae in America* had appeared in Uppsala, 1731, and Sven Sundström, who was particularly interested in the Indians, had in 1716 printed his *Dissertatio historico-politica de Statu Regiminis Americanorum ante adventum Christianorum*. Also, before Kalm had finished the publication of his own magnum opus on America, the noted Israel Acrelius had published

¹ Published as *Per Lindeströms resa till Nya Sverige 1653-1656*, Stockholm, 1923. An American edition, translated by Amandus Johnson and published by the Swedish Historical Society of Philadelphia, appeared in 1925.

his *Beskrifning Om De Swenska Församlingars Forna och Nöwarande Tilstånd Uti Det så kallade Nya Swerige, Sedan Neder-land, etc.*, Stockholm, 1759.

But all these were limited in scope, dealing primarily with New Sweden and the Indians. It was Pehr Kalm (1716-1779), the eminent botanist, pupil of Linné, and professor from Åbo,² who among the Swedes—and other Europeans too for that matter—sought while in America to observe, and give a more scientific and comprehensive record of, such colonies as he visited. He was interested in everything—people, government, customs, territory, and particularly the flora and fauna of the new country. His *Resa til Norra America* is one of the largest and most reliable source-books for American history of the eighteenth century that we have. In some respects it is the best that we possess. Its well-acknowledged contemporaneous value for Europe was considerable. Many facts about America were first made known through this and other publications by Kalm. Foreign opinions and descriptions of North America, its plants, animals, and people were based on his accounts,³ and his principal works translated and reviewed. Because of the growing interest in Kalm's work during recent years, and more especially the study of his volumes and articles on Canada, England, and what is now the eastern United States, the writer has believed it valuable to compile at this time a list of his writings on North America, being convinced that just such a list is one of the most obvious proofs of their importance. So far as possible the various editions, reprints, and translations will also be given—for this will demonstrate the wide distribution of his works—with such notes and comments as may seem pertinent, interesting or necessary. While completeness can not be guaranteed, the aim has

² For a brief account of Pehr Kalm and his America travels cf. my article "Pehr Kalm's Journey to North America," in the *Am.-Scand. Review*, June, 1922, 350-355. As pointed out there the American plant, mountain laurel, now the Connecticut state flower, was named by Linné *Kalmia latifolia* in honor of his industrious pupil.

³ Cf., for example, Harald Elovson, *Amerika i svensk litteratur 1750-1820* (1930), p. 48 (also p. 25, note 34) for references to Kalm's influence on the French historian Raynal.

been to include all outstanding versions of Kalm's writings on America.

1. *En Resa til Norra America*. På Kong. Swenska Vetenskaps-academiens befallning, och Publici kostnad, I-III, Stockholm, 1753-1761.

The second and third volumes deal with North America. Now rare.

2. *Pehr Kalms Resa till Norra Amerika*, utgiven av Fredr. Elfving och Georg Schauman. Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland. Första delen, 1904; andra delen, 1910; tredje delen, 1915; fjärde delen (Tilläggsband) sammanställt av Fredr. Elfving, 1929.

A reprint published in Helsingfors. It has valuable prefaces in vols. I and IV, and the last volume contains the previously unpublished diary notes by Kalm, which were found by Georg Schauman in the university library at Helsingfors. The Preface to vol. I contains also a record of the more important reviews of Kalm's *Resa*, both in Sweden and abroad. I refer to this preface.

Translations of Kalm's Resa

3. *Reise nach der nordlichen America*, welche auf Befehl der Königlichen Schwedischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und auf allgemeine Kosten, von Peter Kalm, . . . ist verichtet worden. Leipzig, G. Kiesewetter, 1754-1764. 3 Th.⁴
4. Des Herren Peter Kalm . . . mitgliedes der Königlichen Schwedischen Akademie der wissenschaften, *beschreibung der reise* die er *nach dem Nördlichen Amerika* auf den befehl gedachter akademie und öffentliche kosten unternommen hat . . . Eine uebersetzung, Göttingen, Wittwe A. Vandenhoeck, 1754-1764. 3 Th.⁴

⁴ Part I of the Leipzig edition was translated by Carl Ernst Klein, a Pomeranian Legation-preacher, who had settled in Stockholm; Parts I-II of the Göttingen version by J. P. Murray; and Part III by his brother J. A. Murray. Parts II and III are identical in the two German versions. The two Murrays were Swedish-Germans of Scotch ancestry—Johan Philip Murray (1726-1776), professor of philosophy at Göttingen, and the more famous Johan Andreas Murray (1740-1792), botanist, Linné pupil, professor of medicine and author of *Apparatus medicaminum*, who in *Biografiskt Lexicon* is credited with the German translation of Part III of Kalm's work. J. Andreas Murray was born in Stockholm, whither his father had moved in 1736 and become pastor of the

Appeared in the series of *Sammlung neuer und merkwürdiger Reisen zu Wasser und zu Lande*. ix-xitter Theil. Both German editions are quite rare, in America at least.

5. *Travels into North America*; containing its natural history, and a circumstantial Account of its Plantations and Agriculture in general, etc. By Peter Kalm, Professor of Economy in the University of Abo in Swedish Finland, etc. Translated into English by John Reinhold Forster, F.A.S. [With map, cuts "for the illustration of Natural History," not found in the original, and notes.] Vols. I-III. Warrington, 1770-1771. Part dealing with Norway and England omitted.

It is obvious from a statement in the preface, xv, that the translation is made from the German version.⁵ But it was a decided success and a second edition was issued almost immediately.

6. Same, second edition, abridged, London, T. Downdes, 1772. 2 vols.

German church. It should be noted, incidentally, that the German versions, the only ones to be made directly from the original, include that portion of the work relating to England, which is omitted in the English, Dutch, and French translations.

⁵ This English translation was the result of temporary financial distress on the part of the translator, who was invited to London from Germany for another plan that did not materialize, found himself stranded there, and so took up the Englishing of certain "Reisebeschreibungen" to get a living. So far as Kalm's work goes, most of the translating was in reality done by Forster's precocious sixteen-year old son, Johann George Adam Forster (1754-1794). We may assume, however, that his father superintended the job and supplied the prefaces and notes. See the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vii, 168, 173.

A preface by Forster to the third volume accuses Kalm of prejudice against the English in favor of the French. Maybe there is a little extra kindness toward the French of Canada, who were exceedingly polite to Kalm during his visit there, but if so, it is an unconscious favoritism and in no way serious. Kalm is in the main a just, objective observer, scientific, and sometimes honest to the point of a childish naïveté. He constantly cites his authorities for phenomenon, real or alleged, that he has not observed with his own eyes, and leaves the final judgment to his reader. The usual criticism of Kalm is that he is hardly at all *subjective* and certainly not at all literary or sensational. Style, for example, has but little meaning to this Swede, but fact everything, and to record this in a simple, practical form is his great objective. In comparing English colonial women with those of French Canada Kalm gives the palm of glory to the Canadians, but in the budding troubles between England and her American colonies,

7. Same, reprinted in *A General Collection of the best and most interesting voyages and travels*, edited by J. Pinkerton, 1808-1814, vol. 13, 4to. London, 1812.⁶
8. *Kalm's Account of his Visit to England on his way to America in 1748*. Translated by Joseph Lucas. With two maps and several illustrations. London and New York, 1892.

This is a separate translation of the part of Kalm's *Resa* which deals with England only, and before omitted in any foreign version. It contains a life of the author, a translator's preface and a facsimile of the title-page of the original opposite its own title-page. It is a careful work, octavo, of 458 pages plus an index. Many words and sectional titles are given in both Swedish and English, viz., "Snake-Oil, Orm-olja." The character å is used instead of ä.

9. *Reis door Noord Amerika*, gedaen door den Heer Pieter Kalm . . . Vercierd met kopern platen . . . Te Utrecht, 1772. 1-2.

The translation is based on Forster's English and Murray's German version. It is a handsome work in quarto, and, as noted before, the part relating to England is omitted. The name of the translator is unknown.

10. Jacques Philibert Rousselot de Surgy, *Histoire naturelle et politique de la Pensylvanie et de l'établissement des Quakers dans cette contrée*. Tr. de l'allemand. P.M. d.s. censeur royal. Précédée d'une carte géographique. Paris, Garneau, 1768.⁷

The "compiler's chief sources were a German translation of P. Kalm's *Resa till Norra America*" and Gottlieb Mittelberger's *Reise nach Pansylvanien im Jahr 1750*.

for instance,—troubles which Kalm was one of the first to observe—Kalm's sympathy is with England. He had no prejudice against Englishmen. Cf. Elovson, *op. cit.*, pp. 67 ff. On the other hand, Forster, either because of conviction or circumstances, was or had to be favorable to the English of course.

⁶ In addition, according to the British Museum Catalogue, vol. 2 of John Hamilton Moore's *A new and complete Collection of Voyages and Travels*, London, 1778 (2nd ed. 1785?) contains some material based on Pehr Kalm.

⁷ If the *Catalogue général des livres imprimés* of the Bibliothèque Nationale is correct this famous French repository did not in 1924 possess a copy of the original of Kalm's *Resa til Norra America*. See vol. 80, 442-446. It owns, however, several translations.

11. *Voyage de Kalm en Amérique*, analysé et traduit par L. W. Marchand. Montréal, par T. Berthiaume, 1880. Two vols. Published in *Mémoires de la société historique de Montréal*. Provided with notes and index.

The part dealing with the United States is condensed into an "analyse" of 151 pages with occasional citations of literal translations. The emphasis here is, of course, on Canada, and the portion treating of it is carefully translated.⁸

Kalm did pioneer work in describing Niagara Falls, a task which was intended to conclude a finished fourth part of his *Resa*, but which never appeared in the original edition. A contemporaneous letter to the librarian Gjörwell on Niagara was recently published, however, in Elfving's above-mentioned *Tilläggsband* in 1929, pp. 162-180. But Kalm did more than that. On September 2, 1750, he addressed a letter on Niagara Falls "to his friend in Philadelphia," Benjamin Franklin. It was composed in English and was the earliest account of Niagara in that language.⁹ It was printed as follows:

12. (a) In No. 1136 of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for September 20, 1750.

(See Kalm's own testimony in Elfving's *Tilläggsband*, p. 157.)

I have not seen this first printing of the article. Dow does not mention it.

- (b) A letter from Mr. Kalm, a gentleman of Sweden, now on his travels in America, to his friend in Philadelphia, a particular account of the Great Fall of Niagara. *Gentleman's Magazine*, Jan., 1751, 21:15-19.

An engraved picture based in all probability on Kalm's description appeared the following month in the same magazine. It was the first view after Hennepin's (1697) to be founded on actual sight of the Falls. Various printed and pictorial reproductions of the Falls soon appeared which were based on Kalm's published letter.

⁸ In 1900, in the city of Lévis, Canada, near Quebec, there appeared a pamphlet, *Voyage de Kalm au Canada* by J. Edmond Roy, a member of the Royal Society of Canada. Though the brochure contains some new material it is of course based chiefly on Kalm's *Travels*.

⁹ Charles Mason Dow, *Anthology and Bibliography of Niagara Falls*, 1-11, Albany, 1921, 1, 62-63. Dow refers to Kalm as an "eminent Swedish Botanist" and reproduces his account of Niagara, pp. 53-63 of vol. 1.

- (c) Same, reprinted in John Bartram's *Observations*, etc., London, 1751, where it is termed "a curious Account of the Cataract at Niagara." Bartram's *Observations* with Kalm's description of Niagara was reprinted at Rochester, New York, in 1895. Kalm's letter is found on pages 79-94. This description is much less scientific and detailed than the one given in his letter to Gjörwell.
- (d) Same, in Dodley's *Annual Register*, 4th ed., London, 1765, 2:388-394.
- (e) The Falls of Niagara, 1764. From a newspaper of the day. In *Mass. Mag.*, 1790, 2:592.
This is Kalm's account almost word for word. . . . It "reads like a careful revision of the earlier description."¹⁰
- (f) Same, in Dow's *Anthology*. See note 9.

The *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*¹¹ states in its article on "Pedro Kalm" that his letter to Franklin on Niagara Falls "fue traducida á muchos idiomas," and the *Biografiskt Lexicon*, its probable source, assures us that six editions of it appeared in one year in England and America, and that it was translated into both German and French. I have been unable to verify these statements, but assume them to be true. A condensation by an anonymous writer of the account of Niagara Falls appeared in *Uppfostringssläsk. Tidning*, 1782, nos. 45 and 46.

- 13. The passenger Pigeon . . . Accounts by Pehr Kalm (1759)¹² and John James Audubon (1831). Smithsonian Institution, *Annual Report* for 1911. Washington, 1912, 407-424.

Between the years 1749 and 1778 Kalm contributed seventeen articles on American subjects to Kong. Vetenskaps Academiens *Handlingar*, two of them running through two or three continuations. They deal with the climate, trees, insects, animals, plants, and other agricultural topics. We shall reproduce the titles of the whole list.

- 14. 1749. Anmärkningar om historia naturalis och Climatet af Pensylvanien. Pp. 70-79.—An abstract from a letter of October 14, 1748.

¹⁰ Dow, *Ibid.*, 1, 63.

¹¹ It is interesting to note in this connection that neither the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (14th ed.) nor *Der Grosse Brockhaus* devotes any special article to Pehr Kalm.

¹² Obviously a translation of Kalm's Swedish article on "Vilda Dufvor i Norra America" which had been printed in Svenska Vetenskaps Academiens *Handlingar* for 1759. See below, article no. 23.

15. 1750. Lobelia, såsom et specificum mot Lues Venerea, 280-290.

Five species of this herb, discovered by Kalm, described as a cure for venereal diseases. Kalm possibly learned this from the Indians, who made a medicine from the lobelia plant. There are hundreds of species of it. See Webster's *Unabridged Dictionary*.

16. 1751. Huru socker göres i America af lönnens saft, 143-159. A treatise on maple sugar.

17. 1751. Huru dricka göres i America af gran-ris, 190-196. An account of how to prepare spruce beer.

18. 1751. (a) Om Amerikanska Maysen,¹³ 305-319.

1752. (b) Om maisens¹³ skötsel och nytta, 24-43.

19. 1752. Några Nord-sken observerade i America, 145-155.

20. 1752. (a) Om Skaller-Ormen, 308-319.¹⁴

1753. (b) Fortsättning af berättelsen om Skaller-Ormen, 52-67.¹⁴

Kalm was immensely interested in rattlesnakes.

1753. (c) Om Botemedlet emot Skaller-Ormens bett, 185-194.

Kalm gives a bibliography on the subject.

21. 1754. Om de Amerikanske skogs-lössen [ticks], 19-31.

22. 1756. Beskrifning om et slags gräshoppor i Norra America, 100-116.

23. 1759. Beskrifning på de vilda Dufvor i Norra America, 275-295.

As always, Kalm furnishes a bibliography. See note 12.

24. 1764. Om maskar, som fördärfva skogarna i America, 124-139.

25. 1767. Om Norr-Americanska Svarta Valnöts-Trädets egenskaper, nytta och Plantering, 51-64.

26. 1769. Om Norr-Americanska hvita Valnöts-Trädets egenskaper och nytta, 119-127.

¹³ Note the slight difference in spelling.

¹⁴ "Vide, Medical, & cases and experiments, translated from the Swedish, London, 1758, p. 282."—A propos of rattlesnakes, J. R. Forster in his English Translation of Kalm's *Resa* gives this reference, I, 116. Evidently Kalm's articles on the subject were already mentioned, and perhaps translated, in this London publication of 1758. I have not seen the book.

27. 1771. Thermometrika Rön på Hafs och Sjöars vattens värma, 52-59.
Based largely on observations made in America.
28. 1773. Om Tuppsporre-Hagtorns nytta till lefvande Häckar, 343-349.
On cockspur-hawthorn.
29. 1776. Beskrifning på Norr-Americanska Mulbärs-trädet, 143-163.
30. 1778. Om Americana Valnöts-Trädet Hicory, 262-283.—
Based in part on information received from Benjamin Franklin.
31. In 1751 there appeared, also, in Stockholm a separate anonymous pamphlet by Kalm with the title "Berättelse om naturliga stället, nyttan samt skötseln af några växter ifrån N. America."

Besides the writings above, Kalm as frequent praeses at the University of Åbo was naturally the chief source of information or inspiration, or both, for a large number (146) of theses by his student respondents. Among these there are at least six items of *Americana* for which we can unhesitatingly give the presiding officer main credit of authorship. The six theses, none of them very long, have in the Yale library been assigned to the Rare Book Room. They are:

32. Anders Chydenius, *Americanska näfverbåtar*. . . Åbo, J. Merckell. 1753.
A master's thesis on Indian birch canoes.
33. Daniel Backman, *Med Guds wälsignande nåd och wederbörandes tilstånd yttrade tankar om nyttan, som kunnat tillfalla vårt kjära fädernesland, af des nybygge i America, fordom Nya Sverige kalladt*. Åbo, 1754.
34. Andreas Abraham Indrenius, *Specimen Academicum de Esquimaux, gente americana, quod in regio Fennorum lycae* . . . Åbo, 1756.
35. Georg A. Westman, *Itinnera priscorum Scandianorum in Americam. Dissertatione graduli*.
Publicly read in Åbo, 1747, but not printed there, it appears, until 1757.—It was Kalm who in America introduced Franklin to the historical facts about the visits of the Norsemen to North America.

36. Sven Gowinius, *Enfaldiga tankar om nyttan som England kan hafva af sina nybyggen i Norra America*. Åbo, 1763.—
An important pamphlet of 22 pages.
37. Esaias Hollberg, *Norra americanska färge-örter*. Åbo, 1763.

The above list of literature, though containing nothing of belles lettres, will help to emphasize, I hope, the necessity for remembering and consulting Pehr Kalm when studying the early historical background and character of the American colonies and the cultural relations between Sweden and the United States.¹⁵

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¹⁵ Since the above article was written Professor Axel J. Uppvall of the University of Pennsylvania has kindly been instrumental in verifying for the compiler the existence of Kalm's description of Niagara Falls in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for September 20, 1750.

It should also be emphasized in this connection that in addition to the articles and books noted above, Pehr Kalm prepared several other scientific treatises on American topics, especially plants, which he intended to publish later, but which never appeared, presumably because of the lack of funds. His material and observations, however, were in no small degree incorporated in works by his master Linné. P. A. Rydberg asserts that "all, or at least most of his [Kalm's] plants were published by Linnæus in his *Species Plantarum*," of which the first edition appeared in 1753 and the second in 1762-1763. See "Scandinavians who have contributed to the knowledge of the Flora of North America," *Augustana Library Publications*, No. 6 (Rock Island, Ill.), 1907, page 13.

The present writer is now engaged in the preparation of an American edition of Kalm's *Travels*, which will contain an English rendering of the hitherto untranslated Part IV.

REVIEWS

History of Norwegian Literature. By Theodore Jørgenson. Minneapolis, Minn.: Burgess-Roseberry, \$3.00.

Students and teachers at St. Olaf College are rejoicing these days over a piece of work produced by a member of the Norwegian department, a work which satisfies a long-felt need at the school. It is a *History of Norwegian Literature*, by Theodore Jørgenson, Associate Professor of Norwegian. Mr. Jørgenson is this year attending the University of Minnesota in order to complete work towards his doctor's degree in the field of history.

St. Olaf College has, ever since its foundation, believed in the value of a study of one's cultural background. A proof of this belief is manifest in the one-year Norwegian language requirement for those of Norwegian descent. Two years ago students were given an option in this matter which permitted them to substitute one year of Norwegian Cultural History for the language requirement. For use in this new course, Mr. Jørgenson published an elaborate outline of Norway's political and cultural history, which proved to be of immense value. Now he makes his début as a literary historian. Mr. Jørgenson is admirably fitted for this task. He has had a thorough training in history, philosophy, and literature. He appreciates art. His mind is clear and logical. He has a fine sense of balance and judgment, which is especially evident in his treatment of the great transition periods in Norse history. His material is exhaustive and illuminating, as a glance at his bibliography will indicate, and he has neglected no elements in the interplay of forces affecting the individual as well as the group. Hence his history is a real interpretation of the growth of Norwegian culture. It is unique in its kind, perhaps the first history of Norwegian literature in English. It will prove invaluable both as a textbook, as well as a reference book, while those who desire to orientate themselves in Norwegian literature will do well to follow Mr. Jørgenson's skilful guidance.

The table of contents reveals the following interesting chapter headings: I. The Runes, II. The Eddic Poems, III. The Skalds, IV. Legend, Law, and History, V. The Icelandic Sagas, VI. The Literature of the Medieval Church, VII. Folk Literature, VIII. Humanism and the Reformation, IX. Holberg and His Age, X. The Growth of National Feeling, XI. Wergeland and Welhaven, XII. National Romanticism, XIII. The New Norse Movement, XIV. Henrik Ibsen, XV. Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, XVI. Realism, XVII. Naturalism, XVIII. Neo-Romanticism and Symbolism, XIX. Neo-Realism, XX. Contemporary Currents. More than half of his three hundred pages are devoted to the literature since 1880. His reason, as stated in the introduction, is that much material is available to the student, both in English and in Norwegian, concerning the authors previous to that time, but very little concerning recent and contemporary authors. In vigorous and forceful English the author gives ample evidence of his critical ability. An appendix contains a list of one hundred worth-while English refer-

ence books on the subject of Norwegian literature. The names of the publishers would perhaps prove a welcome addition to this list.

This first edition,* at \$3.00 a copy, is in mimeograph form, published by the Burgess-Roseberry Company of Minneapolis. The work is excellently done, and will enable the author to make revisions of the text if class room use proves that to be necessary, or correct any errors which may appear. It is to be hoped that as soon as possible Mr. Jørgenson will see his way clear, financially, to publish this valuable work in book form. Let all those who love Norwegian literature given Mr. Jørgenson the encouragement and support which he so abundantly deserves.

ESTHER GULBRANDSON

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Carmina Scaldica. Udvalg af Norske og Islandske Skjaldekvad. Ved Finnur Jónsson. Anden gennemsete Udgave, København: G. E. C. Gads Forlag, 1929.

This volume of selections is primarily intended for graduate students; and those who are teaching advanced courses in Old Icelandic language and literature will, I believe, find it a very useful text. The fact that a second edition has been called for—the first one appeared in 1913—is in itself an indication of the usefulness of the book. In a work of this nature there is, of course, always room for disagreement on the inclusion or the omission of certain poems. Nevertheless, few will deny that we have here a highly representative selection from the scaldic poetry in particular, and in a less degree from other types of Old Icelandic poetry. The more important scalds from Bragi enn gamli to Sturla Þórðarson are here represented; not only are the longer poems (*drápur*) or fractions of these included, but a number of ditties (*lausavísur*) as well. Of anonymous poems "Eiríksmál," "Bjarkamál," "Darraðarljóð," and "Krákumál" are included; all of which certainly deserve a place here because of their historical and literary significance. "Bjarkamál" and "Darraðarljóð" were not included in the first edition; both are fine additions. Of religious poems "Harmsól" is included—a good choice—and Eysteinn Ásgrímsson's famous "Lilja." "Skíðaráma" is the only example of the *rímur*-poetry, but a splendid one, carefully wrought, unusual in subject-matter, and highly amusing. The volume is convenient in size, well printed on good paper.

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ANNOUNCEMENT

On account of the editor's absence in Europe contributors are respectfully requested not to submit manuscripts between June 1, 1933, and September 25, 1933.

* This review was written in December, 1931. Jørgenson's *History of Norwegian Literature* has now been published in attractive book form by the Mac-Millan Company, New York. 559 pp. \$5.00. E. G.

REGARDING THE CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS IN KIELLAND'S NOVELS

One outstanding characteristic of Kielland's novels (in which we shall here include the short story *Else*) is the fact that they preserve a series of identical characters. His novels constitute a continuous picture of Stavanger life and in this picture these characters reappear with great frequency from novel to novel. Nowhere else in Norwegian literature do we find this repetition of characters to such a marked degree as in Kielland—because of the fact that his novels are serial in character.

But in none of Kielland's novels do we find any inconsistency in the portrayal of a character which appears in another novel. The Garmans, the Worses, Provsten Sparre, Adjunkt Aalbom, Konsul With, Georg Delphin, the Løvdahls, Bankchef Christiansen, the Kruses all reappear in various novels, but always as the same personalities with the very same characteristics except for the change which time and circumstances may necessitate.

It is the purpose of this paper to correlate the chronology of the milieu in Kielland's various novels with their date of composition. This correlation can of course be ascertained only approximately but wherever we may assume that the chronology of events in one novel is earlier or later than that of another we find no contradictions in this regard. No one has yet brought this fact to light and to establish it is the *raison d'être* of this paper. The ultimate purpose of this correlation is therefore to show that Kielland was as consistent in the matter of chronology of events as in the portrayal of his characters; the chronology of events in one story does not, so far as can be determined, conflict with that of any other story. This fact serves as additional testimony to the real worth of Kielland's art. Through the maze of the numerous characters and events he weaves a consistent story of Stavanger life in spite of the various social themes involved.

The chronology of milieu in Kielland's novels does not by any means correspond to the order in which they were written.

One outstanding example is *Skipper Worse* (1882) which treats of events that happened two generations earlier than those in *Garman & Worse* (1880) with which the former is so closely associated.

We shall, however, discuss Kielland's novels in the order of their composition with the exception of *Skipper Worse*, which on account of the complete reversal of chronology in milieu from that of *Garman & Worse* may best be treated last as a question by itself. It will there be my purpose to explain why this reversal of chronology took place; i.e., why Kielland did not write *Skipper Worse* first. This question is, in fact, the main burden of my thesis.

In the composition of his novels the various events did not, of course, shape themselves in Kielland's mind as *one* story but as a *series* of stories some of which, though written later than others, take place at an earlier time. This is in itself an interesting theme aside from the question of literary art.

There are two means for determining the chronology of milieu in Kielland's novels in relation to each other, viz., either by means of a direct reference to events in one novel which had already occurred in another, or (if this evidence is lacking) by comparing the ages of the same characters in the novels under discussion.

The first method obtains very clearly, e.g., in the case of *Garman & Worse* in its relation to *Skipper Worse* or in the case of the three Løvdaahl novels, *Gift*, *Fortuna* and *Sankt Hans Fest* in relation to each other. But the second method must be applied, e.g., to *Else* in its relation to Kielland's other novels. The second method also enables us to determine approximately *how much time* elapsed between the milieu of various novels.

There is no evidence whereby we can apply either of these two methods to *Sne* (1886) or to *Jacob* (1891) and therefore these two novels shall be omitted from our discussion. We are left then with *Garman & Worse* (1880), *Arbeidsfolk* and *Else* (both 1881), *Skipper Worse* (1882), *Gift* (1883), *Fortuna* (1884) and *Sankt Hans Fest* (1887). The order of these novels will necessarily be disturbed in our discussion since a later novel must necessarily be brought into relation with an earlier novel.

Garman & Worse (1880) represents a milieu earlier than that of *Arbeidsfolk* (1881) and about the same time as that of *Fortuna* (1884).

In *Arbeidsfolk* (ch. X) Georg Delphin has left town (Stavanger) and gone to Christiania where gossip reveals the scandal which he had had with Fanny Hiorth, already depicted in *Garman & Worse*. This fact shows that these two novels agree chronologically in point of milieu and composition.

Garman & Worse represents a milieu of about the same time as that of *Fortuna*, because, as we shall see, about the same time (i.e., twenty years) elapses between the milieu of these two novels and that of *Sankt Hans Fest* (1887).

In *Garman & Worse* Morten Garman is already married to Fanny Hiorth and has one child, "Lille Christian Fredrik." In *Sankt Hans Fest* (ch. I) "Lille Christian Fredrik" is about nineteen years old and Thomas Randulf refers to the time when Fanny Hiorth became engaged to Morten Garman as "over tyve Aar siden." These facts indicate that the events in *Garman & Worse* took place nearly twenty years earlier than those in *Sankt Hans Fest*.

In *Fortuna* (ch. I) Abraham Løvdahl is nineteen years old and a school mate of Morten Kruse whom we therefore may assume to be of about the same age. In *Sankt Hans Fest* (ch. V) Morten Kruse is thirty-eight years old. Therefore approximately twenty years have elapsed between *Fortuna* and *Sankt Hans Fest*.

The events in *Fortuna* and in *Garman & Worse* take place therefore about the same time. The last two chapters (XXV and XXVI) of *Garman & Worse*, however, take place at a later time than do the events in *Fortuna*, for in these chapters six years pass by and Provsten Sparre becomes a bishop whereas in *Fortuna* he is still Provsten Sparre.

The short story *Else* (1881) evidently represents a milieu earlier than that of *Fortuna* (1884), for in *Else* (ch. VIII) old Skipper Randulf is still alive whereas in *Fortuna* (ch. VII) he is spoken of as dead ("som salig Randulf pleiede at sige"). The events in *Else* therefore most probably take place at an earlier period than do those in *Garman & Worse* (whose milieu represents about the same time as that of *Fortuna*) and therefore at

an earlier period than do those in *Arbeidsfolk* although the latter was written in the same year (1881) as *Else*.

In the Løvdahl trilogy, *Gift* (1883), *Fortuna* (1884) and *Sankt Hans Fest* (1887) events follow each other in chronological order. The events in *Gift* follow directly after those in *Fortuna*; Abraham is confirmed in *Gift* and straightway enters school in *Fortuna* at nineteen years of age. But, as shown above, between *Fortuna* and *Sankt Hans Fest* about twenty years have elapsed. Why should Kielland have depicted the milieu of *Sankt Hans Fest* as so much later than that of the other two novels?

The answer to this question is obvious. The hero of *Sankt Hans Fest* is in reality neither Abraham Løvdahl nor his father, Professor Carsten Løvdahl, but the priest Morten Kruse ("Bagstræveren") who with his "Kaniner" dominates the situation. The Løvdahls are crushed and play an inconspicuous rôle in this novel. It required maturity and therefore much time for Morten Kruse, who was a mere boy in *Fortuna*, to acquire the power which he had over the community in *Sankt Hans Fest*; hence the much later milieu of this latter novel.

To this later milieu the other characters in *Sankt Hans Fest* conform. According to the Norwegian custom of naming the first-born son after the grandfather, Thomas Randulf must here be the grandson of old Skipper Randulf in *Skipper Worse*, and, as pointed out above, Christian Fredrik Garman must here be the grandson of Christian Fredrik ("Unge Konsulen") and son of young Morten Garman in *Garman & Worse*. Thomas Randulf is in the forties (*ch. I*) and Christian Fredrik ("Lille Christian Fredrik") is about nineteen years old.

Thomas Randulf is represented here as much older than Christian Fredrik because the former belongs to an older generation. Thomas Randulf's grandfather, old Skipper Randulf, is contemporaneous with old Morten Garman ("Gamle Konsulen") in *Skipper Worse* who was great-grandfather to "Lille Christian Fredrik."

Again in *Sankt Hans Fest* (*ch. I*) we hear that "ude paa Sandsgaard styrede Jacob Worse Hovedforretningen." This, of course, refers to young Jacob Worse (grandson of Skipper Worse) who in *Garman & Worse* (*ch. XXV*) enters the firm at

the request of young Morten Garman after the partnership had been dissolved. Young Morten Garman and his wife Fanny (*ch. I*) are also still alive.

Thus the chronology of events in *Sankt Hans Fest* are correctly co-ordinated with those in *Garman & Worse* and in *Skipper Worse*. *Sankt Hans Fest* represents the last picture of the Garman and the Worse families.

Now we arrive at the main question of my thesis, viz. why Kielland in *Skipper Worse* (1882) should have gone back to an earlier story of the Garman and the Worse families, two generations earlier than in *Garman & Worse* (1880). In *Skipper Worse* Jacob Worse is the grandfather of Jacob Worse in *Garman & Worse* and Morten W. Garman ("Gamle Konsulen") is the grandfather of Morten W. Garman in *Garman & Worse*.

Internal evidence indicates that about forty years have elapsed between the milieu of *Garman & Worse* and *Skipper Worse*.

In *Skipper Worse* (*ch. I*) Lauritz Boldeman Seehus is a lad of sixteen or seventeen years of age. In *Arbeidsfolk* (*ch. II*)—the milieu of which is, as shown above, later than that of *Garman & Worse*—he is about sixty years old. Thus at least forty-four years have lapsed between *Skipper Worse* and *Arbeidsfolk* and about forty years between *Skipper Worse* and *Garman & Worse*.

In *Garman & Worse* (*ch. III*) the history of this firm is briefly given in retrospective. We are told that Morten W. Garman ("Gamle Konsulen") inherited from his father C. F. Garman the business and the property of the family at Sandsgaard. The business was in a bad way and to hold it together Morten Garman went into partnership with a rich skipper by the name of Jacob Worse. At Jacob Worse's death Morten Garman found it impossible to work with Worse's son (Romarino Worse in *Skipper Worse*) and therefore dissolved the partnership. Old Jacob Worse's son died insolvent, leaving a widow and a son, Jacob Worse, who both appear in *Garman & Worse*.

It must be noted, however, that in *Garman & Worse* no reference is made to old Jacob Worse's relation to the Haugianere; not a word is said about his marriage to Sara Torvestad or that

his death was caused by this marriage. We are told simply that Skipper Worse died while old Morten Garman was still alive. In fact, in *Garman & Worse* only one reference is made to the Haugianere; viz., in chapter VII Kapellan Martens speaks of his relations to "de saakaldte Vakte" and refers to them as "skikkelige, brave Mennesker" but not "comme il faut" (i.e., not orthodox), as Fanny Hiorth puts it.

Evidently then Kielland did not at the time of the composition of *Garman & Worse* have in mind the central theme of *Skipper Worse*, i.e., the story of the Haugianer religious movement in Stavanger. According to the records of the Royal Library at Stavanger Kielland did not begin his study of Bishop A. Chr. Bang's authoritative work on Hans Nilsen Hauge until January 1882* (the year in which *Skipper Worse* was written).

As this new theme developed in Kielland's mind, he wove it into the history of *Garman & Worse*, making old Jacob Worse and his generation the setting of his story. Jacob Worse's untimely death was then conveniently attributed to Haugianer religious fanaticism (i.e., to Sara's inhumane treatment).

For the setting of this new story it was only natural for Kielland to preserve contact with *Garman & Worse*. In the first place, the Garmans were the most prominent family in Sandsgaard and reflected much of Kielland's own family life. Then again, old Jacob Worse was peculiarly suited to this rôle as a victim of Haugianer hypocrisy. As the story is outlined in *Garman & Worse*, Skipper Worse was rich; his money saved the firm of C. F. Garman from bankruptcy. Being an old skipper he naturally belonged to the type of uneducated, simple-minded sea folk. Being both rich and simple minded,¹ old Jacob Worse was just the type of character which Kielland needed as a dupe of Haugianer greed and hypocrisy.

Finding the story of old Skipper Worse, as outlined in *Garman & Worse*, suited to this new theme Kielland revived it in amplified form thus keeping contact with the events and characters in his first novel. This contact was a happy thought on

* Cf. P. L. Stavnem, Anmærkninger til Kielland's *Samlede Værker*, Bind II, p. 432, footnote.

Kielland's part, for he thereby renewed the interest in the history of these two families which he had aroused in *Garman & Worse*. *Skipper Worse* is all the more interesting because we are already familiar with the life of the Garman and the Worse families. It was no doubt Kielland's intense interest in these two families which led him back to old Jacob Worse and his generation as the setting for his new story about the Haugianere in Stavanger.

No one has as yet explained or even stressed the fact that Kielland has in *Skipper Worse* reversed the chronology of events as related in *Garman & Worse*. But the foregoing analysis offers at least reasonable evidence that this reversal of chronology was due to the fact that the new theme, the Haugianer religious movement, did not occupy the author's attention until after *Garman & Worse* was written.

According to Mathilda Skjøtt (*Alexander L. Kielland*, "Liv og Værker," 1904, p. 46) Kielland himself said that he found two faults in *Skipper Worse*; the first, in that he had not made enough out of the character of Henrietta, and the second—one no one any longer knows.

In regard to the first alleged fault, it is difficult to see how the author could have improved on his delineation of Henrietta's character. His brevity and clarity of treatment, both as regards her character and her tragic death, reveal Kielland at his best; at least this treatment can not possibly be construed as faulty. Only the author's innate modesty led him to this self-criticism and only the author himself knew how he could have improved on this part of the story.

But what could the second alleged fault have been? Could Kielland have felt that *Skipper Worse* ought to have been written before *Garman & Worse* in order that the two stories might follow each other in chronological sequence of events?

At least this much is true, viz. that if *Skipper Worse* had been written before *Garman & Worse*, the reader would have experienced less difficulty in distinguishing the two generations of Garmans and Worses from each other. As it is, the story of the grandfathers (Morten W. Garman and Jacob Worse) in *Skipper Worse* follows the story of the grandsons of the same

name (Morten W. Garman and Jacob Worse) in *Garman & Worse*. This is confusing to the reader who naturally expects in *Skipper Worse* a continuance of, not a retrogression in, the story of these two families.

So closely are these two stories associated with each other that in some Norwegian editions *Garman & Worse* and *Skipper Worse* are printed together in this order in one volume. But the milieu of events is *not* in this order and to appreciate this fact when one reads *Skipper Worse* one is really forced to go back and read over the events of this story as outlined in *Garman & Worse*. For example, one naturally assumes that Jacob Worse in *Skipper Worse* is the same Jacob Worse as in *Garman & Worse*—only represented at a later stage in life—until one learns (*ch. IV*) that old Jacob Worse had not been married to Rachel Garman (as was the case with young Jacob Worse in *Garman & Worse*) but to an eccentric, sentimental lady by whom he had one son, Romarino.

Since the reversal of the chronology of events in these two novels naturally tended to a confusion in the mind of the reader as to the identity of the Jacob Worses and Morten Garmans, it seems to me quite possible that Kielland felt this fact to be the second fault which, according to Mathilda Skjøtt, he attributed to *Skipper Worse*. One of Kielland's outstanding qualities was his objectivity and this quality may have enabled him to assume the reader's viewpoint in this regard.

If we read the two novels carefully in conjunction with each other we find no discrepancy either in the chronology of events or in the delineation of the characters. When one is fully acquainted with the events in both novels the reversal of chronology is not disturbing. But this acquaintance requires very close study—a fact which is confirmed by my own personal experience—and such close study should not be necessary in order to avoid confusion. Perhaps then Kielland felt that greater clarity and interest could have been gained if he had written *Skipper Worse* before *Garman & Worse*, i.e., in the order of the sequence of events.

The foregoing analysis reveals how intimately acquainted Kielland was with the life and the characters which he depicts.

No author in all Norwegian literature shows such a thorough-going acquaintance with his own characters as does Kielland, with the possible exception of Henrik Ibsen.

But there is this difference between the two authors in this regard.

Ibsen, the dramatist, *analyses* his characters, whereas Kielland, the novelist, *portrays* them.

Ibsen's analysis is fundamentally based on study and imagination; he infuses into his characters his profound knowledge of human nature.

Kielland, on the other hand, reflects his own personal acquaintance with living characters; they appear as he knew them, natural and simple as they were, without the infusion of psychological analysis.

Ibsen's characters seldom reoccur; Kielland's characters reappear continuously but being the reflection of the author's own life in Stavanger they remain consistent in every detail.

The foregoing analysis also shows that to Kielland's universally acknowledged clarity of style we should add *clarity of exposition*, in which *consistency* is one of the chief features.

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REVIEWS

An Old Icelandic Medical Miscellany. By Henning Larsen. MS Royal Irish Academy 23 D 43 with Supplement from MS Trinity College (Dublin) L-2-27. Utgitt for Nansens fond. (Det norske videnskaps-akademi i Oslo) Oslo; i kommisjon hos Jacob Dybwad, 1931.

About the unique manuscript here edited for the first time we learn from the introduction p. 1: "The manuscript *Royal Irish Academy 23 D 43* is the most important Icelandic medical document preserved from the middle ages. It is of an encyclopaedic character; and the compiler seems to have made an effort to gather in one volume everything of medical science known in his day. We find in the volume practically everything that is preserved in other Old Scandinavian medical manuscripts, and, in addition, a good deal the existence of which in Scandinavian versions has hitherto been merely a matter of conjecture. Though the manuscript is comparatively late (fifteenth century), the evidence is strong that the bulk of the material existed in much older versions. The discovery of the manuscript is of great significance for the medical history of the North, but of even greater importance for Old Norse lexicography in that it offers us a great many words not hitherto recorded and throws much light on the formation of a medical vocabulary."

The importance of the present edition is easily seen from this quotation. The editor's work has been no easy task, but although I am unable to check up on it except in some minor details, it is safe to say that it has all the appearances of being a sound piece of scholarship.

The practically diplomatic edition of the text is preceded by an excellent introduction and followed by an English translation, a bibliography, a register of the simples, and the compound drugs, and finally a very good glossary in which the new or foreign words are marked with a dagger.

In the introduction the editor tells the external and internal story of the MS, establishes the orthographical peculiarities of its scribes which prove it to be Icelandic of the (late) fifteenth century but containing a great many Norwegianisms and Danisms, both in vocabulary and orthography, due to mechanical copying from Norwegian and Danish sources. Finally there is a minute comparison of the MS with its sources or other parallel literature.

I shall now proceed to give a few suggestions of criticism in detail together with still fewer actual corrections of errors.

It strikes one that, when discussing the dialectal features establishing the time and place of the manuscript, the author never mentions the Icelandic works by J. L. L. Jóhannsson (*Nokkrar sögulegar athugasir um helstu hljóðbreytingar o. fl. í íslensku, einkum í miðaldamálinu* (1300-1600)) and B. K. Þórðsson (*Um íslenskar orðmyndir á 14. og 15. öld*) although they deal specially with many of the features mentioned by him. But the editor has two excuses: he had probably written the chapter in question before these books appeared (in 1924

and 1925), and the information he was able to get from Noreen's *Grammar* was enough for his purposes. However, the statement (p. 15) that "*e>ei* before *ng* does not occur in West Iceland" is not quite correct; it should be: North West Iceland. The fact that we find *e>ei* before *ng* in our MS thus points to a scribe from another locality than that of the instigator of the work, Þorleifur Björnsson, for he hails exactly from the center of the North Western region where *eng* was preserved.

Among the words listed as Norwegian elements (p. 17) I was surprised to find such words as *eine-ber* and *posti*, although the normal Icel. orthography is *einiber*, *þorsti*. It seems that the author has been moved in the second case by the consideration that in Mod. Norw. *rs* in *torste* commonly has become *ss*: *tosste*. But exactly the same thing has happened in the Icelandic, and our MS contains many proofs of it, as may be seen both by the omission of *r* as in *smysl* for *smyrsl*, and by its insertion in *fyrsl* for *fysl*. *Fyrsl* is thus no "new" word, as the author lists it, but simply a different spelling of an old word, and the same may be said of *fystn*—also listed as a "new" word—although *fystn* represents an actual pronunciation. It is not unlikely that this pronunciation with inserted *t* is also veiled under the spelling *freisni* for *freistni*. This pronunciation is both Norw. and Icel.; it is found, e.g., in *Cod. Reg. of Snorra Edda* (after 1300) and it is found even to-day in Icelandic.

The nominative forms *brandalausur*, *kiotlausur* and *lausur* are wrongly construed by the editor; the form in Icelandic is always *laus(s)*. The same applies to the nom. *herri*; this loan-word always has the nominative form *herra*. *Hóflega* is said to be the same as *hóflega*, I doubt whether such a form is found, but *hóflega* is common. The nominative form *ormstyng m.* is also wrongly construed; it should be *-styngur*.

It is tempting to see in *liosti* (m. *vulva*) a misreading for *lioski* as *t* and *c* are very much alike in the MS (cf. editor's note under *þiður*). If so, it would be easily connected with Old Dan. *liuske* = Icel. *nári* 'groin,' *inguen*. Could the word *rodu* or *vodu* (pp. 84, 303, 325) stand for *quodu*? That would give the sense wanted: *kvoða* 'resin.' A similar omission of *q* is perhaps to be found in *vartanna* = *qvartana* (see those words). These may seem hazardous emendations. Less so, it seems to me, is the guess that *skikur* stands for *skilur* by a misspelling (dit-tography). That exactly supplies the much needed sense (*skilja við* 'leave'). The word *vanlega* gives good sense if we read *vandlega* 'carefully.' An example of a similar very common assimilation we have in *lan(d) farssótt* (see that word).

This must be enough. I shall only add that the book contains quite a number of hard nuts to crack for those who take delight in solving riddles. To them and to others interested in Icelandic, or in medical, botanical, and pharmacological history the book may be warmly commended.

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NOTE ABOUT ANNUAL MEETING

Our Editor has found it exceedingly difficult to secure papers for an annual meeting to be held this year, owing to the desire of the members to avoid traveling expenses at this time. The Executive Council has therefore decided not to hold the annual meeting this year. We are glad to note signs of improvement in the economic world, and we are confident that there will be nothing in the way of our meeting in May, 1934.

JOSEPH ALEXIS, *Secretary*

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A SWEDISH IMITATOR OF THOMSON

Swedish critics have paid relatively little attention to the influence of James Thomson on Swedish literature during the eighteenth century. The relation between *Liberty* and Dalin's *Svenska Friheten* has merely been touched upon. C. R. Nyblom, for example, in his essay, "Svenska litteraturens förhållande till andra länders under olika tider" (*Estetiska Studier*, II, 1866), says, "hans berömda sång, Svenska friheten, i anläggning och utförande har någon likhet med Thomsons poem, Liberty." Warburg, in his biography of Dalin (1882), states that the two poems are alike in form and detail. In his biography of Dalin (1911), Martin Lamm,¹ having discovered that Voltaire's *L'Henriade* was an unquestionable source of several elements in the Swedish epic, dismisses *Liberty* as a model for the following reasons:

1. *Liberty* (1735-1736) was looked upon even at the time as a less happy poem than Thomson's best poems and has never won the popularity that the latter have.

2. The device of having *Liberty* appear and relate her history was not greatly original, so Dalin may have received the suggestion from other sources.

3. Britannia's welcome of *Liberty* to England need not have given Dalin the idea of having Ulrica Eleonora give her advice to Svea.

4. There is no similarity of detail.

5. Similarities in plan in attitude are due to the fact that both Thomson and Dalin used the same model, *L'Henriade*.

There can be no question as to Dalin's having used Voltaire's epic as a model, but a careful examination of the three epics shows that Dalin made use of both the earlier poems. Warburg, one of the greatest literary historians that Sweden has produced, after acknowledging Lamm's justice in linking *L'Henriade* and *Svenska Friheten*, adds, "Sådan dikten var, med sina allmänna och äfven mera enskilda anslutningar till tidens episka diktning,

¹ pp. 323-324.

närmast som sagdt Voltaires *L'Henriade*, till äfventyrs äfven Thomsons *Liberty*, utöfvade den en stor verkan på samtiden."²

Olof von Dalin (1708–1763), the greatest³ Swedish writer of the first half of the eighteenth century, from the beginning of his literary career in the late '20's was an enthusiastic reader and to a great extent an imitator of English literature, which he knew better than any of his Swedish contemporaries. The influence of Addison and Steele had already been felt in Sweden. From September, 1725, to February, 1726, Jakob Qvist of Stockholm had published *Människlig Försiktighet Eller Konst, Varigenom en Människas Lycka och Upkomst kan Befordras*, a series of thirty-two numbers, most of them translations of essays from English periodicals. More important for Dalin, however, was the appearance of the somewhat more original *Sedolärande Mercurius*, which was published by Carl and Edvard Carlsson from June 9, 1730 to October, 1731. Several numbers are mere translations from the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*. While he was still a student at the University of Lund, Dalin had made plans for a publication similar to *The Spectator*. When he became chancery clerk in Stockholm, among his colleagues was Carl Carlsson, one of the proprietors of *Sedolärande Mercurius* and most likely the man to encourage Dalin to try his fortune with a literary publication. In December, 1732, Benjamin Gottlieb Schneider, a Stockholm publisher, printed the first issue of *Den Svenska Argus*, an eight-page weekly. The author's name was not given, nor did it ever appear in *Den Svenska Argus* (1732–1734). Like *The Spectator*, the new periodical satirized the common failings of mankind and advocated reform, in general conforming to the program of Addison and Steele. Portions of the contents are paraphrases of English essays; others show a close relationship to Swift's *Predictions for the Year 1708* and

² Schück och Warburg, *Illustrerad Svensk Litteraturhistoria*, II, p. 138. Second revised edition.

³ Dalin's importance in the development of Swedish literature can hardly be overestimated. Among his noteworthy works are: *Den Svenska Argus*, the first important Swedish periodical; *Den Avundsjuke*, a successful comedy of character; *Brynilda*, a successful tragedy; *Sagan om Hästen*; *Svenska Friheten*, the outstanding epic of the period; a number of critical essays; a great many satires; *Svea Rikes Historia*; lyrics; fables; and a great many occasional poems.

Gulliver's Travels, and possibly to other English productions; still others are original. *Den Svenska Argus* proved so popular that in 1734, upon the cessation of the paper, a movement was set on foot in the Riksdag to remunerate the author, whose identity soon became known. In fact, Dalin's appointment to a royal librarianship was almost entirely due to his success with *Argus*. Martin Lamm in his excellent study of Dalin suggests that his masterpiece, *Sagan om Hästen* (1740), was modeled both on Swift's *Tale of a Tub* and Arbuthnot's *The History of John Bull*.⁴ Dalin's prose style is strikingly like that of Swift, and his poetic style like that of Pope.⁵

Knowing English literature as well as he did, it is not surprising that Dalin should have used Thomson's *Liberty*. In examining the relationship between the two epics, it is necessary to consider both the form and the contents. I have used the 1900 edition of *Svenska Friheten* published by Hugo Brusewitz of Gothenburg.

I.

Svenska Friheten is significantly similar to *Liberty* both in aim and method. Thomson had at least three aims in writing his epic:

1. To versify the history of civilization, with special emphasis on that of Great Britain.
2. To arouse the patriotism of the British people.
3. To praise the contemporary form of government.

Dalin, likewise, proposes:

1. To versify the history of Sweden.
2. To arouse the patriotism of his countrymen.
3. To praise the constitution of 1719.

Both have much the same method for the fulfillment of their purposes. Both have adopted the artificial form of the pseudo-classic epic, in which appear such devices as dreams, visions, epic machinery, stilted dialog, eulogies of prominent

⁴ *Olof Dalin*, pp. 314 ff.

⁵ The best studies of Dalin's relationship to English literature are, of course, Warburg's and Lamm's biographies. Almost all of Dalin's works show traces of English influence.

contemporaries, invocation, and apostrophes. Thomson gives us the following outline of his epic:

I. The following poem is thrown into the form of a Poetical Vision. Its scene the ruins of ancient Rome. The Goddess of Liberty . . . characterized as British Liberty. . . Gives a view of ancient Italy and particularly of Republican Rome, in all her magnificence and glory. . . This contrasted by modern Italy. . . This desolation of Italy applied to Britain. . . Address to the Goddess of Liberty, that she should deduce from the first ages, her chief establishments. . . She assents, and commands what she says to be sung in Britain; whose happiness, arising from freedom and a limited monarchy, she marks. . . An immediate Vision attends, and paints her words. Invocation.

II. Liberty traced from the pastoral ages . . . down to her great establishment in Greece . . . the effects of Liberty in Greece. . . Transition to the modern state of Greece . . . why Liberty declined, and was at last entirely lost among the Greeks. . .

III. . . The Grecian colonies . . . in the southern parts of Italy. . . With these colonies the Spirit of Liberty and of Republics spread over Italy. . . Reference to a view of the Roman Republic given in the first part of this poem: to mark its rise and fall the peculiar purport of this. During its first ages, the greatest force of Liberty and Virtue exerted. . . The loss of Liberty in Rome. . . Its causes, progress, and completion. . . From Rome the Goddess of Liberty goes among the Northern Nations . . . sends them in vengeance on the Roman Empire . . . then with Arts and Sciences in her train, quits Earth during the dark ages. . .

IV. . . Description of the Dark Ages. The Goddess . . . returns, attended with Arts and Sciences. . . She first descends on Italy. . . The revival of arts marked out . . . Liberty . . . raises several free states and cities. . . Author's exclamation of joy, upon seeing the British seas and coasts. . . She resumes her narration the Genius of the Deep appears, and addressing Liberty associates Great Britain into his dominion. . . Liberty received and congratulated by Britannia and the native Genii or Virtues of the island. . . Animated by the presence of Liberty, they begin their operations. Their beneficent influence contrasted with the works and delusions of opposing Demons. . . Concludes with an abstract of the English history, marking the several advances of Liberty, down to her complete establishment at the Revolution.

V. The author addresses the Goddess of Liberty, marking the happiness and grandeur of Great Britain, as arising from her influence. . . She resumes her discourse, and points out the chief Virtues which are necessary to maintain her establishment there. . . The whole concludes with a prospect of future times, given by the Goddess of Liberty: this described by the author as passes in vision before him.

Dalin's epic may be summarized in the following manner:

I. The poet gives the statement of his aim—to talk about the goddess,

Swedish Liberty, and her history in Sweden. He recounts the political situation in 1718, with the death of Charles XII and the Russian invasion of Sweden. Queen Ulrica Eleanora, visited by the goddess, calls upon her to relate her history. She passes hurriedly through ancient times when heavenly light did not penetrate to the North. Thereupon she tells about the Gothic invasion of Europe and describes the dark ages. She tells about the early kings and chieftains who sought in vain to protect her and traces her history in Sweden up to the time of the Stockholm blood-bath.

II. The queen, bursting into tears, interrupts the goddess to ask her what changes have taken place. Seeing the frightful condition of the country, Swedish Liberty went to God for help. Upon his promising better fortunes to the stricken country, she returned to Sweden in time to see the rise of the Vasa dynasty. She then traces the history of the country to the time of Ulrica Eleanora.

III. Ulrica, feeling that she is too weak to govern well in Liberty's cause, calls upon her husband, Frederick, to share her power. The queen dreams, and Dalin, supported by Liberty, tells what the queen has seen and warns the Swedes of dangers ahead. Ulrica had seen a beautiful picture of Sweden unified by Liberty; upon looking back, she had seen Satan and his cohorts, such as Oenighet, plotting the ruin of the country.

IV. Upon awakening, the queen bids Svea come. Ulrica characterizes Swedish Liberty and appeals to Svea to fix Liberty's throne so that Anarchy may be overcome and the goddess always retained. Thereupon the queen asks Liberty to instruct Svea as to the proper procedure. Swedish Liberty praises the limited monarchical form of government, advocates domestic harmony, and the development of commerce, industry, agriculture, etc. Thereupon Swedish Liberty disappears from view in streamers of light.

It should be at once clear from the foregoing that, aside from the historical survey, the analysis of present conditions, and the statement of future prospects, Dalin has included a great many devices which are parallel to Thomson's. There are the devices of the dream and the vision, the invocation, the dialog, the epic machinery, and, it should be added, the eulogy of a royal personage.

The personifications that comprise the epic machinery and the characters in Dalin's epic are very much similar to those in *Liberty*. British Liberty is the speaker in the earlier epic, Swedish Liberty (Svenska friheten) in the later. The goddess in each poem appears, relates the history of her cause, analyzes her present situation, and suggests what might be done to remedy domestic troubles. Each is a heavenly being, sincerely devoted to the cause of her country; each is a protector of commerce, the

arts, and the sciences; each is opposed by Discord and her followers. Britannia and Svea (the poetical names for Great Britain and Sweden) are highly praised and appear to receive the instructions of the goddess. In Thomson's epic, the poet himself has the vision; in Dalin's, it is appropriately Queen Ulrica Eleanora, in whose memory the poem was written. Besides these characters there are the personifications, which in a number of cases are almost identical; among them—Falskhets (II, 23) and "fair-faced" Deceit (IV, 606); Agg (III, 44) and Indignation (IV, 751); Oenighet (III, 45) and Contention (IV, 732); Tanka (IV, 54) and the Thoughtful Power (IV, 519); Rätt (II, 29) and Justice (IV, 56); Fred (III, 42) and Peace (IV, 732), and Gudligheten (II, 23) and Religion (IV, 561). The use of personified abstractions as parts of epic machinery was by no means original with Thomson, but the frequency of similarity and the parallel action suggests that Dalin may have got his personifications in part at least from Thomson.

The similarity in dialog is also significant. The goddess appears in *Liberty*, tells the poet that she is going to recount her history, suggests that he notice the effects of her fortunes and defeats, and pauses. Thereupon the poet in "trembling accents" prays,

Teach me, thy lowest subject, but in zeal
Yielding to none, the progress of thy reign.⁶

In *Svenska Friheten*, Swedish Liberty appears and begs the queen for protection. Ulrica Eleanora answers:

Ack! Höga Lag, sad hon, om mig den lyckan hände
I början af min tid, at jag dock finge se,
Hvad hugna kan mitt folk och Dig din Åra ge,
Säg, hur Dig bland oss gått, säg fordna Sverges brist.⁷

The British goddess resumes her address by praising Frederick, Prince of Wales, and then proceeds with her story. The author interrupts her when she tells of the dark ages and when Britain first comes into the vision. Then comes the address of the Genius of the Deep, the speech of welcome by Britannia, Liberty's summary of English history, the poet's eulogy of the goddess, his

⁶ I, pp. 346-7.

⁷ I, p. 5.

request for Britannia's instruction, and Liberty's address. In *Svenska Friheten* we find a like dialog. After the queen's prayer for guidance, Swedish Liberty gives her sketch of Swedish history, with emphasis on her part in it. After the goddess' account of the blood-bath, the queen interrupts the narrator, who resumes her account. After its completion, Ulrica dreams about the future of her nation. Then follows the eulogy of Liberty, the request for information about the fixing of Liberty's throne, and the goddess' address to Svea. Not only is the general trend of the dialog closely similar, but various details are alike. Thomson, for example, presents Liberty as characterizing the Prince of Wales,

A Prince behold! for me who burns sincere,
Even with a subject's zeal. He my great work
Will parent-like sustain; and, added, give
The touch the graces and the muses owe.
For Britain's glory swells his panting heart. . . .⁸

Swedish Liberty says of Ulrica Eleanora,

Ja, Drottning, det är du, som jag nu ber om skygd:
Dit hjerta lever blott för Sverige och för dygd.⁹

As pseudo-classic epics including such devices as invocation (in both poems to Liberty), epic machinery, stilted dialog, lifeless characters, apostrophes (to Liberty), and eulogies, the two are very much alike. Dalin's epic confines itself to the material that Thomson had treated mainly in the fourth and fifth parts of *Liberty*; Dalin was, as he suggests in the title of his poem, interested only in the cause of freedom in his own country. Besides this difference in scope, there is another difference which must be noted. *Liberty* is written in prolix blank verse, a form particularly well suited to a poet who did not believe in the condensed style of Pope and his school of poets. Dalin, as a pseudo-classicist, adopted the hexameter couplet as his verse form.

II.

Both Thomson and Dalin present their treatment of Liberty in relation to their respective countries in three major divisions.

⁸ I, 369 ff.

⁹ I, p. 5.

In each epic the writer gives a survey of the national history, a criticism of contemporary conditions, and a consideration of the future of his nation. The matter as well as the general outline of the procedure is similar.

Thomson's account of British (and especially of English) history begins with an account of the Celtic settlement of Great Britain and continues with a consideration of the Roman, Anglo-Saxon, Danish, and Norman invasions. British Liberty says of the Anglo-Saxon invaders,

Wisdom was likewise theirs, indulgent laws,
The calm gradations of art-nursing peace,
And matchless order the deep basis still
On which ascends my British reign.¹⁰

Swedish Liberty says, likewise,

Min trygghet och min prydnad
Är ordning, lag, och dygd.¹¹

Dalin's sketch begins with a consideration of the dark ages, a period that Thomson had treated earlier in Part IV. Both poets describe the descent of the Goths upon southern Europe and the resulting disturbance there. Thomson writes,

Forth rushed the bloody power of Gothic war,
War against human kind: Rapine, that led
Millions of raging robbers in his train:
Unlistening, barbarous force, to whom the sword
Is reason, honour, law: the foe of arts
By monsters followed, hideous to behold,
That claimed their place.¹²

Dalin echoes Thomson,

Et tappert folk, när ej förnuftet får det styra,
Förderfvar jorden mer, än grymsta vildjurs yra:
Ej var dem Svenskom nog, at bloda Norden full,
Han fanns dem altför trång, al verden slogs omskull.
De Göthske svärmars våld omkring Europa svängde,
Och in med eld och svärd i största riken trängde:
För dem alt heligt, täckt, alt mäktigt, vittert, rart,
Ja sjelf det stora Rom färsvann, jag vet ej hvart.¹³

¹⁰ IV, 686-689.

¹¹ I, p. 6.

¹² IV, 42-48.

¹³ I, p. 7.

Both of the poets offer criticism of the Roman Catholic dominance in their respective countries from the middle ages to the reformation. In *Liberty*, the goddess calls Roman Catholicism one of her greatest enemies,

Outrageous mixed with these
 Another species of tyrannic rule;
 Unknown before, whose cankerous shackles seized
 The envenomed soul; a wilder fury, she
 Even o'er her elder Sister tyrannized,
 Or, if perchance agreed, inflamed her rage.
 Dire was her train, and loud: the sable band,
 Thundering—"Submit, ye Laity! ye profane!
 Earth is the Lord's, and therefore ours; let kings
 Allow the common claim, and half be theirs;
 If not, behold! the sacred lightning flies!"
 Scholastic Discord, with a hundred tongues,
 For science uttering words obscure,
 Where frightened reason never yet could dwell.
 Of peremptory feature, cleric pride,
 Whose reddening cheek no contradiction bears;
 And holy slander, his associate firm,
 On whom the lying spirit still descends—
 Mother of tortures! persecuting zeal,
 High flashing in her hand the ready torch,
 Or poniard bathed in unbelieving blood;
 Hell's fiercest fiend! of saintly brow demure,
 Assuming a celestial seraph's name,
 While she beneath the blasphemous pretence
 Of pleasing Heaven, the source of love!
 Has wrought more horrors, more detested deeds
 Than all the rest combined. Led on by her
 And wild of head to work her fell designs
 Came idiot Superstition; round with ears
 Innumerable strowed, ten thousand monkish forms
 With legends plied them, and with tenets, meant
 To charm or scare the simple into slaves,
 And poison reason; gross, she swallows all,
 The most absurd believing ever most.
 Broad o'er the whole her universal night,
 The gloom still doubling, Ignorance diffused.
 'Nought to be seen, but visionary monks
 To councils strolling, and embroiling creeds,
 Banditti saints disturbing distant lands,
 And unknown nations wandering for a home.

All lay reversed—the sacred arts of rule
 Turned to flagitious leagues against mankind,
 And arts of plunder more and more avowed;
 Pure, plain devotion to a solemn farce;
 To holy dotage virtue, even to guile,
 To murder and a mockery of oaths;
 Brave ancient freedom to the rage of slaves,
 Proud of their state, and fighting for their chains;
 Dishonoured courage to the bravo's trade,
 To civil broil.¹⁴

Dalin's parallel passage is representative of the relation between the two epics,

Men nu, sen Rom lärt sig at skatter sammanbringa
 Och med en helig list den duma verlden tvinga,
 Så blef des vælde stort; det talte blott med hot
 Och sjelf Monarken låg inunder Påfvens fot.
 Från Vaticanens högd det blix och dunder sände
 Som bräckte Kungars magt, och land och folk förbrände;
 Från Lapp till Morian, i Kyrkans bojor klämd.

I Norden var det lätt en menlös hop förkjusar:
 Praelaten såg man der til häst ur mässan rusa:
 Med Biskopshatt på hjälm och kåpan kring sin sköld
 Han drog i Herrans namn til upror, våld, och stöld.
 Ur feta Klosters djup, dem Kung och Adel skänkte,
 Och der i lustars bad sig Munk och Nunna dränkte,
 Flög ut en faslig svärm, som drefs af vördig list,
 Bedrägeri, försåt och Riksfördärlig, tvist.¹⁵

Dalin has taken over the use of compulsion, the tremendous power of the church, and its use of excommunication, its supremacy over the monarchs, its persecution, its deluding of the simple, the sinful living of the clergy, and the stirring up of strife.

The two poets touch briefly upon the reigns of the early monarchs and then only to show how the king's attitude towards liberty can make a nation the scene of unfortunate civil strife. With the reigns of Henry VII of England and Albrecht of Sweden the poets begin their historical surveys of modern times. From these reigns forward, their methods are very much alike. One monarch after the other is considered; in each case the poet briefly characterizes the king or queen, and then proceeds to

¹⁴ IV, 48-97.

¹⁵ I, pp. 14-16.

evaluate his achievements and to point out his errors. The reign of Elizabeth (IV, 923-946) and that of Gustavus Adolphus (II, pp. 27-30) are representative of the method. In *Liberty* English history is taken as far as the Glorious Revolution and the rule of William III, the champion of constitutional monarchy. Dalin sketches the history of Sweden into the reign of Ulrica Eleanora and Frederick I, the first constitutional monarchs.

III.

As far as criticism of contemporary conditions and the prospect of the future go, no source could have helped Dalin more than *Liberty*. The background and material in the English epic were exactly what Dalin needed; he really would not have had to do more than localize Thomson's material. That he did more is proof of the fact that Dalin was much less of a *slavish* imitator than certain Swedish critics would have us believe.

England had become a constitutional monarchy in 1689, and since that time, British poets had been praising enthusiastically the new form of government. The increased prosperity of the British people had given rise to a long series of Whig panegyrics, of which *Liberty* was among the outstanding. To praise the achievements of English statesmen, to support either the Walpole régime or the Opposition, and, above all, to celebrate commerce and constitutional liberty were by 1736 looked upon as the proper aims of poets. When we compare the situation in England to that in Sweden after 1718, we see at once that in many respects the conditions were parallel. According to the constitution of 1719, Sweden was a limited monarchy, governed jointly by the Estates (the Riksdag) and the monarch. The most apparent difference was the greater limitation of royal power in Sweden. Not only were governmental conditions similar, but party-strife and the emphasis placed on commerce were alike. After the tremendous losses sustained during the years before 1718, Swedish leaders saw in the development of trade and manufactures a chance at retrieving some of the power and prestige that Sweden had had a few years before. Dalin as early as 1732 in *Den Svenska Argus* had shown interest both in the mercantile theory and in its practical application.

Thomson alludes to the blessings of limited monarchy in many passages, of which one is especially significant. After depicting the coming of William of Orange to England, Thomson points out the benefits of the limitation of royal power in a passage that becomes almost enthusiastic.¹⁶ The portion, too long to quote here, is a fairly accurate statement of the Whig principles that formed the basis of the new form of government. It is not surprising to find Dalin reproducing the program in his own way in an even longer passage.¹⁷ Dalin, like his predecessor, outlines the relations between the monarch and the people, and between the king and the Riksdag in a manner parallel to that in *Liberty*. The Swedish writer, however, adds the suggestion that the monarch be awarded enough power to allow him to become a real force in the government.

In connection with their discussion of government should be considered their comments on contemporary political conditions. In Great Britain throughout the 1730's and in Sweden from the fall of Arvid Horn in 1738 to the writing of *Svenska Friheten*, political strife had (in the eyes of the poets, at least) endangered the liberties of the people. Thomson, as a lukewarm supporter of the Opposition centering about Frederick, Prince of Wales, was indignant over the political corruption due in large measure to Robert Walpole. Again and again he attacks the governmental corruption.¹⁸ Dalin, likewise, alludes to the effects of party strife, which were exceedingly dangerous to Sweden at the time. In one of the most powerful portions of *Svenska Friheten*, he pictures the descent of Oenighet and her cohorts upon his country. The effects of this descent are similar to those of the party strife in Great Britain—the threatening of the very existence of liberty and the unhappiness of the people. In speaking of Oenighet's work, Dalin refers specifically to English conditions,

Från Whigs and Torys nyss hon til Piaster farit,
Hon båd i Parlament, och uppå Landtag varit.¹⁹

This couplet is reminiscent of three lines in *Liberty* to which

¹⁶ IV, 1135-91.

¹⁸ cf. V, 304 ff.

¹⁷ IV, pp. 56 ff.

¹⁹ III, p. 46.

Thomson himself added a note, "The parties of Whig and Tory,"

The fierce, the foolish discord thence derived,
That tears the country still, by party rage
And ministerial clamour kept alive.²⁰

The poets, moreover, believed the real basis of their countries' welfare was the peaceful development of commerce and domestic activities, such as agriculture and manufactures. Thomson time and again ascribes the greatness of his land to commerce and liberty,

O blest Britannia! in thy presence blest,
Thou guardian of mankind! Whence spring alone
All human grandeur, happiness, and fame:
For toil by thee protected, feels no pain,
The poor man's lot with milk and honey flows,
.
. Goddess, she
Derives her praise from thee, her matchless charms,
Her hearty fruits the hand of freedom own;
And warm with culture, her thick clustering fields,
Prolific teem . . .
.
She, whitening o'er her downs, diffusive pours
Unnumbered flocks; she weaves the fleece robe,
That wraps the nations . . .
.
Enlivening these and cities full
Of wealth, of trade, of cheerful toiling crowds;
And thriving towns. Add villages and farms
Innumerable sowed along the lively vale,
Where bold unrivalled peasants dwell.²¹

Dalin says much the same,

Men, Sverige, glöm ej det, om du på mig vil tänka;
Låt Handel, Flit, och Slögd dig rikedomar skänka:
Om Folket ej mår väl, det tvingas ganska lätt,
Och väljer nådebröd för Frihet, dygd och rätt.
Upmuntra Hushållsvett, lät Åkerman få röna,
At Jorden flit och svett kan tusenfällt belöna:
Har landet sit behof, snart får det öfverflöd,

²⁰ IV, 975-977.

²¹ V, 2 ff.

När Folkets mängd föröks, och hvar förtjänar bröd.
 Man ser då Vett och Frågd med Lyckan hedern dela.
 Man kring Naturen ser de fria Konster spela:
 Man ser då Nöden fly. som alla Trätors Mor,
 At Enighet med Ro i hvar mans hydda bor.²²

The thought of the time with its emphasis on mercantilism and physiocratism is summarized in these passages. No other source for material of this kind could have been more useful and suggestive for Dalin than Thomson's *Liberty*.

Both of the poets include a vision of the future. In the one epic, the poet sees Britannia, happy and prosperous, under the guidance of British Liberty. This vision is in striking contrast to the gloomy passage in which the poet pictures the sort of country Great Britain would become if British Liberty were not protected by the constitution and by the expression of the worth of the constitution in the prosperity and happiness of the people.²³ In *Svenska Friheten* Queen Ulrica Eleanora sees a like contrast. On the one hand is an unhappy Sweden, torn by domestic strife, and on the other, a Sweden prosperous and powerful with its firm basis—liberty.²⁴

IV.

There is no good reason for supposing that the alleged obscurity of *Liberty* prevented Dalin from using it as a model for *Svenska Friheten*. If, as Morel has shown,²⁵ English writers such as Oliver Goldsmith and Lord Byron felt that *Liberty* was worthy of imitation, there can be little question about Dalin's willingness to use it. In fact, its very obscurity may have been another reason for his adoption of Thomson's poem as a model; borrowings from an obscure English epic were not likely to be detected by Swedish readers. By 1742 Swedish critics may already have accused Dalin, as they certainly did later, of merely "Swedishing" foreign literature. *Liberty*, moreover, was able to furnish him with ideas which he needed for his literary project of 1742 and which *L'Henriade*, with its limited scope and dif-

²² IV, pp. 60-61.

²³ V, 147 ff.

²⁴ III, pp. 41 ff.

²⁵ Morel, Léon, *James Thomson, Sa vie et ses œuvres*, pp. 534 ff.

ferent material, could not give him. *Liberty* was closer to the pseudo-classic poetry of the time than any of Thomson's other non-dramatic productions. It abounds in antitheses, platitudes, allegorical figures, lofty language, apostrophes, and epithets, all of which the pseudo-classicists, including Dalin, were fond of. *The Seasons* was not of any great interest to him, for he was neither an enthusiastic nature poet nor a reactionary against popular taste in European literature. In *Liberty*, however, was material which he could use in his own way just as he had done before with the works of the Queen Anne writers. Dalin's acquaintance with English literature was extensive. He may even have visited England on his way to Paris in 1739. At any rate, he stayed for some time in the Netherlands and in France, in both of which countries the literary men were then under the influence of English literature and thought.

In making use of ideas gained from *Liberty* and *L'Henriade*, Dalin was not merely a slavish imitator. Like most of the poets in that age of imitation, he felt that it was necessary to follow the method of literary predecessors. He took the two foreign poems as models because there were no Swedish epics worthy of imitation. Out of the ideas gained from others, he produced an epic which because of its many brilliant passages and because of its patriotic contents became the national epic until the time of Tegnér.

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